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Making Social Science Matter?: Case Studies from Community Development and Empowerment Education Research in Rural Ghana and Aboriginal Australia

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Abstract

Despite potential opportunities offered by exceptional advances in science and technology, we are increasingly polarised from each other. Social inequalities, poverty and deprivation are only a few of the challenges facing most societies. By combining the theoretical perspective of Bent Flyvbjerg's *Making Social Science Matter* (2001) and related Perestroika discourse with insights from community development and empowerment research in rural Ghana and Aboriginal Australia, this paper demonstrates a strengths-based approach to social science that builds social capital through enhancing the capacity of individuals and communities to routinely consider ethical questions; where they are going; what can be done to make things better. Focus is on Flyvbjerg's challenge to social scientists to undertake research relevant to challenges and opportunities facing contemporary society. Highlighted is a need for researchers to reflect more explicitly about ways they seek to make their work relevant to people with whom they work. Strengths-based approaches, grounded in relevant ethical values, norms and local histories and traditions, offer one avenue for making social research relevant.

Keywords: Phronetic social science, Perestroika, Community development, Empowerment, Strength-based, Values and norms, Rural Ghana, Aboriginal Australia, Research relevance, Social capital

1. Introduction

On 14 October 2000, an anonymous email under the pseudonym of 'Mr Perestroika', addressed to the Editors of *Politics and Society* and *American Political Science Review*, was circulated within the academic discipline of political science in the United States of America. The email criticised the elitism and domination of the scientific framework in American political science which, it argued, unduly emphasised scientific causal modelling to the exclusion of other valid, non-statistical methodological approaches. In an eleven-point manifesto, the letter called for openness and methodological pluralism that employs diverse approaches, depending on the subject-matter. This, it argued, should allow the discipline to move beyond its current state of sterile scientism and become more relevant to the needs and challenges of contemporary society. Mr Perestroika's clarion call quickly spread like wild fire. It triggered, among other things, what David Laitin later described as a mass mobilisation within the discipline of political science against the practices of the disciplinary leadership (Laitin, 2006). A Perestroika movement, determined to change the organisational and intellectual basis of political science, was thus born in America.

Whether by coincidence or design, in the following year across the Atlantic in Denmark, Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) released a thought-provoking book entitled *Making Social Science Matter*. Flyvbjerg challenged social scientists to do away with any pretensions that they can emulate the natural sciences by providing general causal explanations for why people do what they do. Instead, he advocated that social scientists must re-think the types of research that they, by the very nature of their subject-matter, are best placed to undertake, that is, the study of society. He called for a need to bring back the

Aristotelian notion of *phronesis*, or situational ethics and practical wisdom, to the core of social science praxis.

Making Social Science Matter immediately provided a rallying point for the emerging Perestroika movement. By 2006, the efforts of the Perestroika movement had resulted in, among other things, the release of an edited collection of essays entitled *Making Political Science Matter* (Schram & Caterino, 2006). The objective, according to its editors, was to bring together a diverse set of scholars interested in promoting a methodologically pluralistic discipline that encourages problem-driven research, promotes civic-minded scholarship, challenges power and changes society for the better. As Schram, co-editor and self-confessed Perestroikan, further explained, social scientists must strive to use multiple methods in addressing problems in ways that can inform and empower the people being studied (Schram & Caterino, 2006).

Controversy over what is regarded as valid knowledge, the most reliable ways of knowing and the basis upon which some types of knowledge are accorded respectability and positions of influence more than others, in the process of deciding what is 'good' and 'bad' for society, is nothing new (Pitman & Berman, 2009; Snow, 1965; Wilson, 2008). Debate about whether the social sciences and humanities can be scientific in the same way as the physical sciences has also persisted for some time. Since Descartes, and subsequently Kant, western philosophical thought has been increasingly seduced with the dream of attaining universal rationality as the highest form of knowledge and the basis for truth (Schram & Caterino, 2006). The politics of knowledge production in the academy is full of, often bizarre, anecdotes concerning the way in which many scholars, irrespective of their disciplinary backgrounds, go to great lengths in order to seek this dream of universal rationality.

While I was an undergraduate student at the University of Ghana in the 1970s, a professor of history successfully convinced the university council to transfer the discipline of modern history from the arts faculty, which encompassed the classics, ancient history and languages, to the social studies faculty, with the effect that modern history would sit alongside such disciplines as sociology, economics, statistics and political science. Globally, this was at the height of science envy across the arts, humanities and social sciences, whereby many scholars from these disciplines were convinced that the only way to achieve academic respectability was to become increasingly epistemic in their research approaches. Within the discipline of history, the advent of cleo-metrics, or quantified history, premised on elegant statistical and mathematical models as the basis for making sense of the complex dynamics of historical causation, promised to revolutionise the entire philosophy and approach to historical research. The continuing dominance in academia of the scientific framework, and the push for all research (irrespective of subject-matter) to become progressively quantitative in character, was reinforced to me some three decades later when, as a practicing social scientist in a large public health school in Australia, I witnessed a professor, and head of the school, remark that all forms of qualitative research were 'dancing in the dark'.

While issues of methodological hegemony remain real challenges for many social scientists and scholars of the humanities globally, the purpose of this paper is not to defend qualitative research *vis-à-vis* quantitative, nor to engage in so-called science bashing. Rather, the purpose is to counter an unfortunate tendency within the Perestroika debate that confuses Flyvbjerg's notion of *phronesis* with the conventional qualitative versus quantitative mudslinging. I hope to refocus the debate back to what, in my view, is the most controversial and interesting aspect of Flyvbjerg's thesis, namely, the nature of social science and how to make it more relevant to the needs and challenges of contemporary society.

After an overview of Flyvbjerg's conceptualisation of phronetic social science and the critiques levelled against it within the Perestroika discourse, I draw upon my community development and empowerment research experience in rural Ghana and Aboriginal Australia to show that the need to make knowledge, especially modern academic knowledge, relevant to the day-to-day experiences of society is something that has been of major concern for many so-called third and fourth world indigenous populations on the margins of global divisions of knowledge, power and influence for a very long time (Bainbridge, 2009; Henry, Dunbar, Arnott, Scrimgeour, Murakami-Gold & Chamberlain, 2002; Mikhailovich, Morrison & Arabena, 2007; Thomas, 2004; Whiteside 2009; Wilson, 2008). A related aim is to motivate others to truly 'open up' the Perestroika discourse beyond its current Euro-North American centric by bringing perspectives from societies whose voices, despite rich knowledge traditions, hardly feature in dominant philosophical discourses.

2. Flyvbjerg and Perestroika

Why is social science losing out in the current Science Wars? Why is it becoming more and more marginalised in academia, evidence-based informed public policy and in society at large? How can social researchers guard against the production of the types of research outcomes that Mary Bailey (1992 cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001) calls "so what" (p. 132) results? That is, research results that may be interesting but of little value to the people who are the focus of the research. What can be done to make social science *matter* again?

Through *Making Social Science Matter*, Flyvbjerg (2001) formulates some answers to these provocative questions.

Flyvbjerg articulates how social scientists have become their own worst enemies because of their attempts to be something that they are not and will probably never be. He explains how they spend their precious energies and resources vainly mimicking the epistemic methods and approaches that natural scientists have so successfully employed in producing cumulative and predictive theories. The result, according to Flyvbjerg, is a vast accumulation of largely sterile and decontextualised social science knowledge that is becoming increasingly less relevant to the complexities of the real challenges facing humanity. Knowingly or unknowingly, social scientists accept terms of reference that are self-defeating; they allow both natural and social sciences to be judged in terms of their epistemic qualities, resulting in significant marginalisation for the latter. Hence, Flyvbjerg's view is the need to bring back the Aristotelian notion of *phronesis* to the core of social science. For Aristotle, *phronesis*, the highest of the three classical intellectual virtues, essentially involves making judgments and decisions about what is good or bad for society based on values and interests and, as such, is quite distinct from *episteme* (analytical) and *techne* (technical) knowledge. The extent of the marginalisation of social science is reflected, for example, in the fact that the classical intellectual virtues *episteme* and *techne* are found respectively in the modern words 'epistemology' and 'technology' but there are no equivalent words for *phronesis*, the one virtue which Aristotle regarded as essential for social and political enquiry (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

To restore social science to its rightful place in contemporary society, Flyvbjerg challenges practitioners to go back to the classical traditions of social inquiry and re-orient their practice towards 'phronetic social science'. Both the natural and social sciences, he argues, have their strengths and weaknesses depending on the subject-matter in question. Thus, social scientists need to reflect further on these differences to capitalise, or build upon, their strengths rather than imitating their natural science counterparts. Flyvbjerg explains:

the social sciences are strongest where the natural sciences are weakest and vice versa; just as the social sciences have not contributed much to explanatory and predictive theory, neither have the natural sciences contributed to the reflexive analysis and discussion of values and interests, which is the prerequisite for an enlightened political, economic, and cultural development in any society, and which is at the core of *phronesis*. (2001, p. 3)

An emphasis on key phronetic attributes of reflexivity, values and interests should make social science more relevant to the needs and challenges of contemporary society by balancing instrumental rationality with value rationality, thereby helping to make a real difference in peoples' lives.

Phronetic research, focusing on values, places issues of power at the core of analysis. Flyvbjerg draws heavily on the works of Friedrech Nietzsche, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu to integrate *phronesis* with particular understandings of power that can best inform situated practice. He proposes a set of value-laden questions as a guide for practitioners of phronetic research including: 1) *Where are we going?* 2) *Who gains, and who loses, and by what mechanisms of power?* 3) *Is it desirable?* 4) *What should be done, and with what consequences?* Flyvbjerg distinguishes other characteristics of phronetic research including getting as close as possible to the reality being studied; placing emphasis upon concrete 'little things'; looking at practice before discourse and theory; having an emphasis on 'cases' and 'contexts'; having a deep sense of history including approaches to gathering historical information; using narrative or story-telling; joining agency with structure to overcome dualisms of actor/structure, hermeneutics/structuralism and voluntarism/determinism; and finally, dialoguing with a 'polyphone of voices'.

Phronetic research, practiced according to these guidelines, aims to unpack, through concrete examples and detailed narratives, ways in which power operates with particular consequences and how these may be altered. Quoting Richard Rorty, Flyvbjerg concludes that "as political situations become clear, they get clarified by detailed stories about who is doing what to whom" (2001, p. 140).

Flyvbjerg's concept of *phronesis* had a strong impact on a wide range of scholars within the Perestroika movement, evidenced by the frank, but largely constructive, criticisms enunciated by the contributors of *Making Political Science Matter*, which include the following arguments:

1. Social science has already largely abandoned the attempt to emulate natural science at least when the latter is understood as generators of predictive knowledge (Schatzki, 2006).
2. Flyvbjerg's definition of 'theory' in terms of prediction is too narrow and ignores other forms of theories such as typologies, models, ontologies, and conceptual frameworks which are all highly relevant to phronetic social science (Schatzki, 2006).
3. Flyvbjerg's conception of phronetic social science is too restrictive and conflates the legitimate need for social science to offer input into social dialogue and praxis on the one hand with the claim that social science should be practiced as *phronesis* for "[It] is society that must be phronetic with all the help social inquiry can offer it" (Schatzki, 2006, p. 128).
4. The critical challenge facing social scientists is not how to make the discipline matter as it already matters to many constituencies but rather how to assist researchers to "develop sophistication about our knowledge production,

heightened awareness of ideological bias, normative presuppositions and the political consequences of our research" (Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 168).

By far the most vociferous and, in my view, the least helpful of these criticisms are those produced by David Laitin who labels Flyvbjerg and the entire Perestroika enterprise as "Luddites" arguing that their "abhorrence of all things mathematical [...] reveals a fear of the modern" (2006, p. 33). Laitin's attack on Flyvbjerg is centred on the following grounds:

1. The premise that natural scientists hold epistemic social scientists in ridicule is wrong as the argument is based on flimsy and weak case examples.
2. Flyvbjerg's criteria for epistemic science are artificial and unrealistically high, and that these are criteria that no physical scientists will claim for themselves.
3. Flyvbjerg's own research on urban planning in Aalborg Denmark, cited in *Making Social Science Matter*, as a case study in phronetic social science and other narrative forms of qualitative research (which Laitin equates with phronesis) can benefit more from what Laitin calls the tripartite method of comparative research that integrates narrative (which he again equates to phronesis), statistics and formal modelling.

Criticisms that Flyvbjerg's definition of theory is too narrow, and the notion that the conceptualisation of phronetic research is limited in scope, have enriched and opened up new possibilities in the Perestroika discourse. However, I find the general thrust of David Laitin's attack unhelpful. To the best of my understanding, nowhere in *Making Social Science Matter* does Flyvbjerg argue for qualitative as opposed to quantitative research. Furthermore, Laitin's consistent equation of narrative research to *phronesis* overlooks the central aspect of Flyvbjerg's argument concerning the nature of relationships that ought to exist between the three Aristotelian knowledge traditions. Finally, Laitin's dismissal of Flyvbjerg and the entire Perestroika agenda as 'Luddites' opposed to anything 'mathematical and statistical' neglects the fact that Flyvbjerg's own phronetic research on urban planning draws on both statistically-based and narrative-type research. It also overlooks the diversity of the adherents of the Perestroika idea of methodological openness, which includes not only scholars of qualitative research but quantitative scholars as well.

Flyvbjerg's own spirited defence of his position *vis-à-vis* the Laitin critique illustrates the points I have just highlighted. Flyvbjerg explains:

Aristotle found that every well functioning society was dependent on the effective functioning of all three intellectual virtues - episteme, techne and phronesis. At the same time, however, Aristotle emphasized the crucial importance of phronesis, 'for the possession of the single virtue of prudence (phronesis) will carry with them the possession of them all'. Phronesis is most important from an Aristotelian point of view, because it is that intellectual virtue that may ensure the ethical employment of science (episteme) and technology (techne). Because phronesis today is marginalized in the intellectual scheme of things, scientific and technological development take place without the ethical checks and balances that Aristotle and later Max Weber saw as all important. (2006, p. 71)

I have so far provided an overview of how a phronetic approach, in Flyvbjerg's view, can make social science more relevant to the needs and challenges of contemporary society and some of the main critiques levelled against the approach by contributors to the Perestroika debate. The question of whether a particular piece of social scientific research is relevant to society is always going to be contentious, not least because such issues are heavily value-laden. Clearly needed in the Perestroika discourse is a move beyond theory towards greater reflexivity (Hawkesworth, 2006) regarding specific ways in which individual practitioners seek to make their work relevant to the needs and challenges of society and the strengths and limitations involved in the process. This, at least, provides the required information that allows peer researchers, as well as people who are the subjects of research, to judge for themselves the extent to which they consider a particular research relevant. I now draw on my community development and empowerment research experience in rural Ghana and Aboriginal Australia to suggest that, by asking 'what is working in spite of problems' rather than 'what is the problem and how can it be fixed', social research has the potential to act as a mirror for individuals and communities to routinely consider important questions about where they are going and what can be done to make things better.

3. Locating myself

I will start with two anecdotal incidents about how I first became involved in community development research some thirty years ago as these, and similar formative experiences, to this day continue to shape my approach to social research. The first happened in 1970 when I left my native village in Ghana to attend boarding school in a nearby town. On a holiday back in the village, my father started a conversation with me about the relevance of what we were learning at school to the needs of our village. I was glad that my father was curious and interested but I found myself struggling to relate my studies to the needs of the village. After a period of silence my father looked straight into my eyes and said, "Look, our child, if we send you to boarding school and you cannot come back to this village and find ways of

explaining and making what you are learning at the school relevant to the interests and aspirations of people in this village, then what is the point of you going to school?... The more you make your learning relevant to other people, the stronger you become in who you are, no matter where you go."

The other incident occurred several years later when, as an undergraduate student, I approached the chiefs and elders of the village for permission to research and write the village history as part of my studies (Tsey, 1980). The chiefs and elders were pleased that, for the first time, the predominantly oral accounts of the village would be written. After meticulous preparations with my research methods lecturer, I selected information-rich people for interview using semi-structured questions. After a few scheduled interviewees failed to materialise due to a range of excuses, some appearing questionable to me, I approached one of the respected elders in frustration. In a calming voice he said, "*I think you are trying to do this the wrong way. We have our own ways of telling stories. Ask us and we will guide you how to go about it. Think about eko dodo at funerals [procedure for narrating genealogy often at the funerals of the very elderly]. Start with what we know best and then you can share your own new ideas.*"

These and similar formative incidents, and my subsequent reflections on them, led me to a lifetime involvement in community development and related social research. Over the years, I have played a range of roles: letter writer, translator, interpreter and advisor for the chiefs and elders of my rural village regarding development issues; local historian; executive positions in rural development associations; and as academic researcher, trainer and facilitator. I have used mainly participatory action research approaches that are grounded in the relevant local knowledge traditions and customs to support and enhance community development and empowerment initiatives in rural Ghana and, more recently, Aboriginal Australia. Indeed, the desire to make my work relevant to my village has resulted in a lifetime 'orbiting', to borrow from Noel Pearson (2006), between my village and a variety of places around the world, wherever possible seeking to take new knowledge and ideas back to the village and vice versa.

In Ghana, I worked in teams supporting rural development projects including schools, health clinics, water and sanitation, income generation and rural electrification. I demonstrated the transferability of my Ghanaian community development expertise to the context of Aboriginal Australia, working in teams implementing a range of action research initiatives, starting with a community mobilisation against the use of strip tease shows by the hospitality industry to promote the sale of alcohol among rural Aboriginal people (Boffa, George & Tsey, 1994). I learnt the valuable lesson that community development is more than building physical infrastructure. Central to community development is capacity to confront and sensitively, but firmly, deal with customs and traditions that are inimical to health and wellbeing or violate sections of the community's human rights and dignity. This is particularly the case among traditionally-oriented societies that are experiencing rapid social change. The community development practitioner is routinely confronted with such issues as the role and position of women and children in society, violence, child brides, disputes over chieftaincy, and beliefs and attitudes about sorcery and witchcraft. All can have profound and debilitating effects on sections of the community. I learnt the importance of narrative, the human propensity to share stories of human diversity and unity, as fundamental to working with people to tackle difficult and sensitive cultural beliefs and attitudes. I sought to develop facilitation techniques that create safe environments for respectful but critical dialogue between diverse groups with unequal positions of power and influence. In all these roles, the two interrelated questions I keep asking myself are 'what are the interests and aspirations of the people with whom I work' and 'how can I make my knowledge, skills and experience relevant to those interests and aspirations'. Through this process, I have developed the understanding that no matter how desperate the social conditions of a community of people might look to the outsider there are always pockets of strength, resiliency and creativity within such community and it is the role of the development facilitator to search, locate and work with such centres of strength and energy from within. This allowed me to develop facilitation approaches that seek to engage and tap into peoples' own strengths rather than deficits, thereby inspiring confidence and hope that no matter how desperate a social problem might look, there are always possibilities for using such problems as opportunities to change things for the better. This realisation now sits at the core of all my work, across different settings, different cultures and addressing different types of social issues.

3.1 Example 1- Rural Ghana

As part of routine reflective planning, an oral history study was designed to enable the citizens of Botoku to reflect on their long tradition of community development as a basis for setting future priorities. Botoku is a large rural community of about 3000 people in southeast Ghana, some 200km from the capital Accra. Like most rural Ghanaian communities (Abloh & Ameyaw, 1997), Botoku has a long and interesting history of community development (Schmidt-Hergeth & Tsey, 1996; Tsey, Schmidt-Hagerth & Lubrani, 1995). The oral history documentation involved a series of iterative semi-structured group discussions in Botoku as well as with Botoku residents in Accra and other regional towns and cities. Participants in the groups were carefully recruited to reflect the demographic profile of the village. Included in the groups were male and female chiefs and elders, resident and non-resident citizens, development association executives, participants in development projects, young people and church groups. Group participants were asked to identify and narrate the histories of what, in their view, they considered the most significant community development

initiatives in the recent history of the village and to provide reasons to justify their choice. The discussion process was based on the local tradition of *ko dodo*, the framework for moderating genealogical narrative accounts referred to earlier. The aims of the project were explained to one group of people. A lengthy discussion of what people thought were the most important development initiatives occurred within the group. A *tsiami* (spokesperson) was appointed to narrate the story while others interjected to make ‘corrections’ as required. The consensus story from the group was carefully written down by the researcher and narrated back to the group for confirmation. The researcher then took the confirmed version of the story to the next group who discussed it, made their own changes to the story as they considered appropriate, and appointed their own *tsiami* to narrate what was, in their view, the correct story. The process continued until new groups started accepting the narrative accounts as mainly correct without many changes and additions. The process, which provided inbuilt capacity for multiple versions of the same account to be accepted as valid interpretations, is one that I have applied in my work since. A dozen development initiatives were identified including a 14km dirt road which allowed the first motor vehicle to enter the village in the 1930s; a decision in the ‘60s not to allow dogs in Botoku due to a rabies epidemic; an ‘80s decision to outlaw ‘trial by ordeal’ involving the administration of herbal concoctions to those accused of witchcraft and sorcery as a means to determine innocence; and a 1990s rural electrification project resulting in the arrival of electricity supply in the village in 2000. The main point to note here is the way in which the reflexive process acted as a mirror for the community to appreciate its own strengths and, hence, renew confidence for the future. One oral history participant explained, “*It is hard to imagine we have achieved so much....These stories, we have to make them like a book in Ewe and Inglesi [English], then it will be like mirror for us and our children and their children. For people living at home in Botoku and those of us living outside, these stories are like mirror to see what we have done as people and what we can do in future....*” Clearly, the successful adaptation of a locally relevant oral tradition in this rural Ghanaian context confirms Bruner’s (1990) view that narrative process (sharing stories) builds social cohesion.

3.2 Example 2 – Aboriginal Australia

My introduction to Aboriginal Australia from the early ‘90s was, and in many ways still is, a shock about the white-black divide. Having spent most of my community development life working with my own people in Ghana, I found myself trying to practice as an outsider in Aboriginal Australia, an entirely different socio-economic environment involving the world’s oldest surviving culture. The question that dominated my mind was how to make sense of the stark contradictions between wealthy democratic Australia on one hand, and small minority Indigenous populations living in relative poverty and deprivation with issues of alcohol abuse and inter-personal violence so endemic and public on the other hand (Boffa et al., 1994). As an outsider, where to start in the context of such social volatility was clearly a challenge. I was acutely aware that no matter how desperate the Indigenous social conditions might look to an outsider, there are always pockets of strength, resiliency and creativity. Part of my engagement task, therefore, was to locate and work with such centres of strength by asking the question ‘what are people doing to improve their own situation despite the obvious problems and how can social research enhance and enable that process?’ This naturally led me to the field of evaluation research in terms of what works and why in the context of Aboriginal health and wellbeing. The rest of the case study is an example of my attempt, as an outsider, to make my research relevant.

In 1998, I was invited by Tangentyere Council, an Alice Springs Aboriginal housing and community development agency, to evaluate a Family Wellbeing (FWB) empowerment education program. Developed by a group of survivors of the stolen generations (Aboriginal children who, under government assimilation policies, were taken away from their biological families and brought up in white Australian families and on church missions), the FWB course was premised on the idea that all humans have basic physical, emotional, mental and spiritual needs. The course developers argue that governmental policies, such as the removal of children from parents, resulted in denial of basic human needs to generations of Aboriginal people. This explains, in part, the high levels of destructive behaviours, such as suicide, alcohol and other substance abuse and domestic violence, facing many families and communities. It also means that many adults lack the skills or the ability to provide quality parenting to their children. The FWB course therefore aims to empower participants and their families to take greater control over the conditions influencing their lives.

Given the personal and sensitive nature of the program, I took a participatory approach to enable a deeper understanding and allow a more trusting relationship with participants. Following negotiations with facilitators and course participants, I enrolled as a participant evaluator. I was struck by the enthusiasm of participants and their regular reflections on how much the course was benefiting them in dealing with such issues as alcohol dependency, violence, parenting and other family relationship issues, and beyond. Capitalising on this enthusiasm, I asked their advice on how to best capture their experience in an evaluation. The participants made a number of suggestions. Firstly they said that, for Aboriginal people, it is important to consider a person within their relationships so an evaluation should examine the impact of their participation on their ability to bring about changes or improvements, as defined by themselves, in their family, community and for those employed in the workplace. Secondly, they said that story telling was an important aspect of Aboriginal culture so the evaluation should capture participants’ stories of change. Together, we designed a formative methodology that encouraged participants to provide narrative accounts of real life situations when they sought to use

the FWB knowledge and skills to make changes in their family, work and broader community life and the highlights and challenges involved (Tsey, et al., 2009).

This formative FWB evaluation experience was significant for me in several respects. Firstly, it was the first program I evaluated in Australia that was developed by Aboriginal people in response to their own specified need. Before then I had evaluated at least half a dozen initiatives developed mainly by government and other outside agencies that targeted Aboriginal communities. Secondly, at \$3000, the FWB program was the least funded of all evaluations in which I had been involved, compared with \$20 000-\$150 000 for government-run projects and services. Particularly significant, although the least funded, the FWB program was the most promising in terms of the potential to actually prevent illness and promote wellbeing. Finally, the key elements and attributes of psychosocial empowerment, such as enhanced self-worth, resilience, hope, belief and confidence about the mutability of the social environment documented in the FWB qualitative evaluation, in many ways resonated with internationally recognised epidemiologically-informed, evidence-based, cost-effective preventative health programs (United Kingdom (UK) Department of Health, 2009). For these and other reasons, I made a deliberate decision that Aboriginal-developed programs and initiatives constituted priority areas for systematic research in order to enhance the evidence base. Hence, as part of interdisciplinary teams, including social scientists, public health physicians, epidemiologists, social workers and such, a long-term program of collaborative empowerment research agenda involving several Aboriginal organisations and government agencies was developed (Mayo, Tsey & Empowerment Research Team, 2008; Tsey et al., 2007). Seven years of developmental research involving over one thousand adults and two hundred school children participants in FWB, in a variety of settings, resulted in an emerging evidence base about the dimensions and benefits of empowerment and the potential of these benefits to contribute nationally to improving Indigenous health (Bainbridge 2009; Mayo et al., 2008; McCalman, Tsey, Wenitong, Wilson, Cadet-James, Whiteside et al., in press; Tsey, 2008; Tsey, Travers, Gibson, Whiteside, Cadet-James, Haswell-Elkins et al., 2005a; Tsey, Whiteside, Daly, Deemal, Gibson, Cadet-James, et al., 2005b; Tsey, Whiteside, Deemal & Gibson, 2003; Tsey, Whiteside, Haswell-Elkins, Bainbridge, Cadet-James & Wilson, 2009; Whiteside, 2009; Whiteside, Tsey, McCalman, Cadet-James & Wilson, 2006).

Key factors that contribute to the FWB program's success are Aboriginal self-determination and control over program conceptualisation and development and the notion of holism that addresses the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual dimensions of health (Tsey et al., 2009). Equally important to the program's success are the mutually respectful strategic research partnerships between qualitative and quantitative researchers on one hand and Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers and/or participants on the other, all committed to improving the evidence base for Indigenous-instigated empowerment initiatives. Operationalising concepts, such as those identified as success factors behind the FWB program, are heavily value-laden and, accordingly, require ethically informed reflexivity, a legitimate domain of *phronesis* (practical wisdom) while quantifying the impact of FWB in terms of cause and effect, require epistemic thinking and skills. Clearly, the Perestroika debate is not, and should not be, about qualitative versus quantitative research but rather the nature of *phronesis* and how best to make this relevant to society.

4. Conclusion

The paper provided an overview of Flyvbjerg's conceptualisation of *phronetic* social science and the main critiques of the approach within the Perestroika debate. It is true that the commitment on behalf of many academics towards quantitative research, especially from the last quarter of the 20th century, has arisen out of a genuine dedication towards evidence-based public policy making. But, for some, it can also be seen largely as the product of unreflective science envy and as a method for protecting their disciplinary and professional interests. In the first decade of the 21st century in particular, the situation has been worsened by the introduction and/or the prospect of new research productivity policy frameworks in many countries. Emphasising quantitatively biased journal 'impact factor' and citation frequency as a key research quality measure, these frameworks have significantly influenced the criteria by which funding bodies presently select research to fund. Such pressures prompted Australian analysts to rightly argue for a "separate humanities research funding completely from that of the sciences...to desist in asking it to compete on unequal terms by trying to be something it is not" (Pitman & Berman, 2009, p.324). Evidence suggests a heightened sense of disquiet and consternation among many social science and humanities researchers within the current research policy climate. However, few scholars will admit this openly because of a fear of recrimination from dominant disciplinary interests. Indeed, the fact that the author of the Perestroika email had to write under a pseudonym in a country which prides itself as the bastion of free speech says a great deal about the politics of daring to challenge the hegemony of established professional and disciplinary paradigms and interests. It is within this context that I believe that social scientists and, more broadly, researchers and policy makers will find *Making Social Science Matter* and *Making Political Science Matter* highly relevant.

Those familiar with recent methodological and ethical developments in fields, such as Indigenous studies, development, participatory action research, empowerment, capacity building, action learning and organisation development and change, will find Flyvbjerg's (2001) guidelines not entirely new (Bainbridge, 2009; Mayo et al., 2008; McCalman et al.,

in press; Mikhailovich et al., 2007; Pascale & Sternin, 2005; Thomas, 2004; Tsey, 2008; Tsey & Hunter, 2002; Tsey et al., 2005a; Tsey et al., 2005b; Tsey et al., 2003; Tsey et al., 2009; Whiteside, 2009; Whiteside et al., 2006; Wilson, 2008). The main advantage of the framework is the potential to make practitioners reflect more explicitly on the nature of social science and the strengths and weaknesses of practising it respectively as *episteme*, *techne* and *phronesis*. Strengths-based, inside-out solutions (Pascale & Sternin, 2005), as the two case studies describe, offer one avenue for making social research relevant. Strengths-based approaches are not only central to many indigenous knowledge systems they also clearly resonate with the Aristotelian notion of *phronesis*.

Development workers and researchers need to routinely remind themselves that no matter how desperate a community's situation might look such communities can still be full of pockets of strength, resiliency and innovation and, in some cases, even flourishing. We should not assume that best practice models and frameworks for change will come from the ingenuity, expertise and generosity of the outsider as this can often lead to repeated mistakes in fixing problems for people rather than harnessing and supporting those strengths from within. An emphasis on strengths does not deny or minimise the seriousness of the real challenges that may be facing the people with whom they work. Too often, the power of problem-saturated images can blind the development researcher to crucial facts that, irrespective of the enormity of problems facing the people with whom they work, such communities still consist, by and large, of people trying to go about their daily business of living meaningful lives, however defined. Starting from what is working in peoples' lives, in spite of problems, makes sense, not least because the more things that are working become stronger, or are strengthened, the more those involved develop capacity and confidence to tackle issues that may have appeared intractable at first sight.

Central to the strengths-based approaches to working with people to bring about improvements in the human condition is the power of narrative as Flyvbjerg (2001, 2006) and others highlight (Bainbridge, 2009; Brunner, 1990; Tsey et al 2009; Whiteside, 2009; Wilson, 2008). This requires sophisticated group facilitation, engagement and negotiation skills and expertise that are grounded in relevant ethical norms and values, essential ingredients in creating environments for critical dialogue to occur across diverse communities of people. Narrative process, in a safe and respectful environment, has an intrinsic value as it builds social cohesion and trust among people. Friendship, good social relations and strong supportive networks documented in the case examples described above and elsewhere (Bainbridge, 2009; Mayo et al., 2008; McCalman et al., in press; Tsey, 2008; Tsey et al., 2005a; Tsey et al., 2005b; Tsey et al., 2003; Tsey et al., 2009; Whiteside, 2009; Whiteside et al., 2006) resonate powerfully with epidemiological evidence linking social capital to mental and physical illness prevention and wellbeing promotion (Berry, 2009; UK Ministry of Health, 2009). Relationships give people support, happiness, contentment and a sense that they belong and have a role to play in society. Where people lack social connection, especially in the context of rapid socio-economic change, they are more likely to experience lower levels of wellbeing and are at increased risk of physical and mental disability and chronic disease (Berry, 2009; UK Ministry of Health, 2009).

In summary, the perennial issue of research relevance is one that is likely to remain with us for a long time to come. Despite all the potential opportunities offered by exceptional advances in science and technology to make the world a relatively peaceful, safe and happy place for most people, we are increasingly polarised from each other. Social inequalities, poverty and deprivation in the midst of affluence, substance abuse and trauma associated with inter-personal violence and armed conflicts are only a few of the real challenges facing most societies, not to mention recent dangerous and threatening changes in climate and global financial crisis. These alone make Flyvbjerg and the Perestroika discourse worthy of attention. As a value-laden question, decisions about social science relevance are always going to be largely subjective. The least practitioners can do by way of accountability for their work, *vis-à-vis* the people with whom they work, is to be more reflexive and transparent about its relevance. Social scientists have an important and legitimate role in combining narrative with values-based facilitation approaches to enhance the capacity of communities of people to deliberate and, where possible, take action around issues that are priority concerns to them. Equally important are epistemic approaches to determine effectiveness including cause and effect relationships depending on the subject matter.

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On the Identity and Uses of Cantonese Sentence-final Particles in the Late 20th Century: The Case of *wo* (囉) and *bo* (噃)

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Abstract

This paper mainly describes the uses of the frequently used sentence final particles *wo3* and *bo3* in the 1990s in Hong Kong Cantonese by examining speech data. In the past twenty years, most experts treated *wo3* and *bo3* as variant forms, the former being the result of sound change from the latter (Kwok 1984, Luke 1990, Li 1995, Fang 2003). In order to verify whether *wo3* and *bo3* are different particles or free variations of the same particle, the synchronic picture of the two particles will be considered by comparing their uses and functions in the 1990s with the language examples from the Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus and local movies.

Keywords: Cantonese, Sentence-final Particles, Late 20th Century, Spoken data, Synchrony

1. Introduction

1.1 Cantonese sentence-final particles

Sentence final particles (hereafter SFPs) in Cantonese play an important role in determining the function of sentence. They are scarcely found in formal writing but their presence in common conversation is massive. SFPs function to convey speech act information and often have grammatical functions, such as changing a declarative sentence into an interrogative one.

Most researchers (Cheung 1972, Kwok 1984, Ouyang 1990, Luke 1990, Deng 1991, Matthews & Yip 1994, Li 1995, Fang 2003, Leung 2005, Cheung 2007) have come to consider that SFPs as mainly conveying the speaker's emotions and attitudes, and that they are found in casual conversations only. Some sources on Cantonese have identified thirty or more basic forms (Kwok 1984) and over forty-five possible particle clusters (Leung 2005). Cheung (2007:183-208) pointed out that there are as many as seventeen particles commonly found in everyday conversation, which are often used in clusters of two to four, namely *lo1*, *bo3*, *aa3*, *wo2*, *tim1*, *gwa3*, *me1*, *ze1*, *maa3*, *ne1*, *ge2*, *lai4*, *sin1*, *zyu6*, *faat1*, *baa2laa1* and *hai2laa1*.

1.2 Research motivation

Among the basic SFPs that are used in everyday conversation, *wo3* (囉, mid level tone) is certainly the one with high frequency. In terms of frequency of usage of *wo3* and *bo3*, there is an imbalance between them as *wo3* has entirely surpassed the using of *bo3* (噃, mid level tone) in today's Hong Kong Cantonese. According to the Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus (HKUCC, see 1.3), the appearance of the two is 602 to 16 in ratio, *wo3* is about 38 times as frequently used as *bo3* in contemporary Cantonese. However, teaching materials and academic books have only occasionally mentioned *wo3* and the explanations are often too short. If *wo3* is not seen as "the same as *bo3*", it is being thought of as the variant or weakened form of *bo3*. Then the major effort is put on explaining the function, usage and meaning of *bo3*. Undeniably, among these archives, we get an impression that the two SFPs *wo3* and *bo3* have very close relationship; in other words, they are described to be the same essentially.

Luke (1990) is the one who firstly realized that *wo3* has already changed to become an SFP with high frequency of daily use and through frequent use has gained itself an independent position different from *bo3*. His work has an entire chapter devoted to the detailed discussion of *wo3*. He has concluded the meaning of *wo3* as "unexpectedness, noteworthiness, remarkableness, unusualness...etc". After Luke has noted the new status of *wo3*, there have been scholars noticing and discussing this SFP continuously over the past decades (Ouyang 1990, Matthews & Yip 1994,

Leung 2005). They point out that the meaning of *wo3* is “reminding, discussing and enlightening”, which is very similar to the definition of *bo3* in the earlier works (Ball 1888, O’Melia 1954, Cheung 1972). This suggests the current SFP *wo3* could have been derived from *bo3*. Table 1 concisely summarizes scholars’ views on the usage of and the tones expressed by *bo3* and *wo3* from 1888 to 2007. Unlike the particle *bo3*, it can be seen that there was little mention of *wo3* among them before the 1990s. With this background, it seems reasonable to proceed one step further to present a synchronic analysis by examining the data of colloquial speech in detail to verify the differences between *bo3* and *wo3* in Hong Kong Cantonese in the late 20th century, and this is the goal of this paper.

The “Cantonese” in the following discussions is the variety spoken in Hong Kong and the Jyutping Romanization scheme (粵拼, Linguistic Society of Hong Kong 1993) is adopted for the notations of Cantonese sounds.

1.3 Data collection

It is noted that the best source of information for linguistic features is a large corpus of colloquial speech for us to perform statistical analyses. Since a speech corpus is constructed using real data and so is highly representative, our analysis will no longer be based on a small sample or subjective feelings. The Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus (HKUCC) was set up out of such objective. The language examples for the 1990s in this paper fundamentally come from the HKUCC, and are supplemented with two popular Cantonese movies produced in the 1990s, namely “Fight back to the school I” (Fight 1991) and “Fight back to the school II” (Fight 1992). The movies starred Stephen Chow S. C., one of the best known actors then in Hong Kong. Below is a brief background of the HKUCC.

In the 1990s the University of Hong Kong established a corpus made up of a large amount of Cantonese speech and conversational recordings which have been fully transcribed, segmented, tagged and parsed. HKUCC was built up on the basis of a research project entitled “Constructing a Database of Spoken Cantonese with English Translation and On-line Dictionary”, funded by the Hong Kong Research Grants Council (HKU 397/96H). These speech data are all genuine, colloquial, unscripted, spontaneous speech as heard in everyday conversations. In the 150 recordings of this 200,000 word corpus, 67 were conversations between 2-3 speakers, 51 were radio broadcasts and 32 were stories told by one story-teller. It is also equipped with quick and convenient searching and retrieving tools.

By systematically recording a substantial amount of speech, the HKUCC provides researchers with a convenient and reliable way of checking and substantiating speakers’ feelings and intuitions about their language. Take frequency information as an example, if it were not with the HKUCC, one would not be able to quantify the relative degree of use of the SFPs *bo3* and *wo3*. A quick check of the corpus reveals that the use of these two particles is in a ratio of 16:602; *wo3* is about 38 times as frequently used as *bo3* in contemporary Cantonese. Of the entire corpus mentioned above, this research focuses on 8 hours of data.

2. The uses of *wo3* in the late 20th century

In modern Cantonese, *wo3* is an SFP used with a high frequency. Some recent researches have shown that this particle is used to show “realization and reminders” (Rao 1983, Kwok 1984, Ouyang 1990, Deng 1991, Leung 1992, Fang 2003). *Wo3* can be commonly used at the end of declarative and exclamatory sentences. Consider some common examples:

Example 1 (Fight 1992)

今日	天氣	好	好	噏
gam1jat6	tin1hei3	hou2	hou2	wo3
today	weather	very	good	SFP

“The weather is very good today!”

Example 2 (Fight 1991)

呢度	唔	准	食煙	噏
le1dou6	m4	zeon2	sik6 jin1	wo3
here	NEG	allow	smoking	SFP

“Smoking is not allowed here!”

Example 3 (HKUCC)

嘩！ 真係 幾 梳夫 喎！
 Waa3 zan1hai6 gei2 so1fu1 wo3
 INJ really quite wonderful SFP

“Wow, it’s quite wonderful!”

Example 1 is a declarative. *Wo3* in this sentence expresses mirativity (DeLancey 1997, Matthews 1998a). The speaker expresses surprise or wonder at the unusually or unexpectedly pleasant weather. Example 2 is a reminder “you should know smoking is not allowed here”. Example 3 is an exclamatory sentence. The particle *wo3* can be used in different types of sentences expressing various tones of voice in conjunction with different lexical and intonational devices. In the HKUCC, the SFP *aa3* (啊), found to be the most frequently occurring, is used more than 2000 times. However, the expressive function of *aa3* is not as specific as that of *wo3* since its major function is to soften the tone of a statement (Leung 2008).

According to our observations of the HKUCC data, in present-day Cantonese, the SFP *wo3* is primarily used to convey the meanings of: (1) Realization, (2) Reminder, (3) Hearsay and (4) Contrast. Two examples of each are shown below with explanations.

2.1 Realization

In Example 4, Speaker A reminds Speaker B that it is nearly three o’clock and as a result Speaker B remembers that there is a scheduled gathering so she may need to do some preparations. In Example 5, the speaker takes some bones to feed a dog, and then remembers that in the backyard there is also a cat, which might be hungry then, and so he takes some food to feed the cat too. Unlike the reminder, the one who “realizes” that something has to be done is the speaker himself.

Example 4

A : 三 點 嘩
 saam1 dim2 laa3
 three o’clock SFP
 “It’s three o’clock already.”

B : 係 喎，佢 嚃 會 嘍 嘩
 hai6 wo3, keoi5dei6 wui5 lai4 laa3
 yes SFP, they AUX come SFP
 “Oh yes. They are coming soon.”

Example 5

拎 哟 骨頭 去 餵 吓 狗 先， 橫 捏 無 嘬
 ling1 dil gwat1tau4 heoi3 wai3 haat5 gau2 sin1, waang4dim1 mou4 je5
 Take CL bone go feed ADV dog first, anyway no thing
 做…… 係 喎， 後 面 重 有 隻 貓， 唔 知 餓
 zou6.....hai6 wo3, hau6min6 zung6 jau5 zek3 maa1, m4 zi1 ngo6
 do.... yes SFP, back still have CL cat, NEG know hungry
 唔 餓 呢？
 m4 ngo6 ne1?
 NEG hungry SFP

“Let me take the bones and feed the dog as I have nothing to do now...Oh, there’s also a cat in the backyard, is it hungry or not?”

2.2 Reminder

“Reminding” and the above-mentioned “Realization” are two sides of the same coin. In “reminding”, it is the speaker who reminds the hearer and consequently the hearer remembers something, while in “realization”, the speaker suddenly realizes something as a result of the reminder by someone or some situations, and in this case it is the speaker who remembers something. Each of the two examples below shows a situation where the hearer remembers something as a result of the reminder of the speaker. In Example 6, Speakers A and B are discussing Chinese tea and milk tea. Prior to this exchange, Speaker B said that milk tea certainly does no harm to his stomach and he always drinks Chinese tea. But Speaker A reminds B that Chinese tea is mild, which is different from milk tea. In Example 7, someone asks the speaker to help return some books to the library, but the speaker refuses and gives the reason that he is too busy, and he also reminds the hearer that returning books to the library is very simple as one needs only to place the books in the bookdrop.

Example 6 (HKUCC)

A : 飲 奶 茶 同 飲 茶 都 唔 同 喇，唔知 點 解
jam2 naai5caa4 tung4 jam2 caa4 dou1 m4 tung4 wo3, m4 zi1 dim2gaai2
drink milk tea and drink tea ADV NEG same SFP, NEG know why
飲 奶 茶 會 劍 啰 哟，因 為 佢
jam2 naai5caa4 wui6 soek3 di1 ge2, jan1wai6 keoi5
drink milk tea AUX weaken-stomach ASP SFP, because it
濃 得 滯 呀？
nung4 dak1 zai6 aa4
concentrated COMP excessive SFP?
“You know, milk tea and plain tea taste different. I don’t know why milk tea weakens the stomach. Is it because it is too concentrated?”

B : 係 啊 濃 啰。
hai6 aa3 nung4 di1
COP SFP concentrated ASP
“Yes, it’s more concentrated.”

Example 7 (HKUCC)

你 千祈 唔 好 搵 我 啊，我 已 經 九 個 project 啊，
nei5 cin1kei4 m4 hou2 wan2 ngo5 aa3, ngo5 ji5ging1 gau2 go3 project aa3,
1SG ADV NEG good find 1SG SFP, 1SG already nine CL project SFP,
你 自 己 去 還 啦，你 自 己 隊 埋 去 喇
nei5 zi6gei2 heoi3 waan4 laa1, nei5 zi6gei2 deoi6 maa14 heoi3 wo3
2SG self go return SFP, 2SG self hand in ASP go SFP
“Don’t ask me to do it as I have nine projects at hand already. Why don’t you go yourself? You just need to drop it.”

2.3 Hearsay

The third category is “hearsay”, that is reporting other people’s speech. Back at the end of the 19th century, the function of *wo* was already identified as “denoting that the statement preceding it has been made by some one before” (Ball 1888). In modern Cantonese, there are two particles which express hearsay function, namely *wo3* and *wo5*. In many situations, these two particles are interchangeable, but there are subtle differences between the two (Leung 2009). In Example 8, the speaker conveys good wishes to the hearer from someone else who is not present. In Example 9, *wo3* also has a hearsay function, as the speaker asks the other party who plays most wildly and the hearer answers that he

plays most wildly. The particle *wo3* at the end of the sentence expresses the fact that this assessment is from someone else other than the speaker.

Example 8 (Fight 1991)

佢 話 問候 你 喎， 王 Sir !

keoi5 waa6 man6hau6 nei5 wo3, wong2 sir

3SG say greet 2SG SFP, Wong Sir!

“He has asked me to send his regards to you, Mr. Wong!”

Example 9 (HKUCC)

我 問 阿甲 呢， 邊個 玩 得 最 癲 呢，

ngo5 man6 aa3gaap3 ne1, bin1go3 waan2 dak1 zeoi3 din1 ne1,

1SG ask PRE-A SFP, who play COM most wildly SFP,

佢 話 佢 喎。

keoi5 waa6 keoi5 wo3

3SG said 3SG SFP.

“I asked him who played the most wildly, and he said he did.”

2.4 Contrast

The fourth category is “show an element of Contrast”. In Example 10, Speaker A hears some noises in the car park and feels worried, as there are valuables in the car. He then asks Speaker B whether everything is fine. Speaker B replies that, contrary to A’s worries, there is no problem with the car. In Speaker B’s reply, *wo3* appears at the end of the utterance and conveys the meaning “in spite of appearances or what you think, the car is okay”. Thus, the particle shows that the message contains an element of “contrast”. Similarly, in Example 11, Speaker A says that there is no one in the room, but Speaker B discovers that the grandmother is in the room and reminds Speaker A that the actual situation is different from the one he described, despite the fact that Speaker A implies that whether the grandmother is present or not will not affect them in any way. The *wo3* at the end of Speaker B’s utterance again carries an element of “contrast”.

Example 10 (Fight 1991)

A : 有 有 嘟 啊 ?

jau5 mou5 je5 aa3

have NEG thing SFP?

“Is there something wrong?”

B : 架 車 有 嘟 喎 。

gaa3 ce1 mou5 je5 wo3

CL car NEG thing SFP

“Contrary to what you think, there’s nothing wrong with the car.”

A: 噉 點解 會 有 聲 嘅 ?

gam2 dim2gaai2 wui5 jau5 seng1 ge2

DM why AUX have sound SFP?

“Then why are there some noises?”

B : 周圍 脚 吓 。

zau1wai4 tai2 haa5

Around look ASP

Example 11 (Fight 1992)

A : 房 入面 冇 人
 fong2 jap6min6 mou5 jan4
 room inside no person
 “There’s nobody in the room.”

B : 阿嫲 嘴 度 喏
 aa3maa4 hai2 dou6 wo3
 PRE-grandmother COP here SFP
 “Hey but Granny is here.”

A : 唔 使 理 佢 嘅架
 m4 sai2 lei5 keoi5 gaa3
 NEG need care about 3SG SFP
 “No need to care about her.”

2.5 Novel usage

It is worth mentioning that *wo3* can also appear at the end of imperative and exclamatory utterances to carry a sense of emphasis. It should be noted that the use of the sentence final particle *wo3* with imperative and exclamatory utterances is possibly new; as such usage is not found in the data of the early 20th century (Wisner 1906, Ball 1924, Sung 1934). Example 12 is a dialogue between a leader and his attendant. “Follow me closely” is an order to be followed strictly. The imperative tone-of-voice is not expressed by the particle *wo3*. If *wo3* is replaced by another particle such as *aa3*, the tone-of-voice of the utterance is not changed, but the particle *wo3* gives the hearer a strong sense of “reminder”. In Example 13, the speaker is at a friend’s home and expresses his exclamation as he is watching the beautiful sea view from the living room. *Wo3* serves as a reminder to the friend and intensifies the exclamation. This use of *wo3* with imperative and exclamatory utterances seems to be a novel one. Moreover, the category mirative in this example indicates unexpected information (such a fantastic view) which the speaker does not anticipate.

Imperative

Example 12 (Fight 1991)

一陣 你 要 跟 實 我 喏，
 jat1zan6 nei5 jiu3 gan1 sat6 ngo5 wo3
 later 2SG must follow closely 1SG SFP
 咪 又 再 鬧禍 啊
 mai2 jau6 zoi3 cong2wo6 aa1
 NEG again again make trouble SFP

“Remember, follow me closely and don’t make trouble again.”

Mirative

Example 13 (Fight 1991)

嘩，個景好靚噃！
 waa3, go3 ging2 hou2 leng3 wo3
 INJ, DEM view INT pretty SFP
 “Wow, the view is very beautiful!”

2.6 Short summary

We saw in this section from our observations of the spoken data, in the 1990s, the particle *wo3* was mainly used to convey the moods of: (1) Realization, (2) Reminder, (3) Hearsay and (4) Contrast. It is also used with imperative or exclamatory utterances, in which the tone-of-voice is not expressed by *wo3* but by the imperative or exclamatory utterances themselves. This usage of *wo3* is hardly found in the past corpus data; it is a novel usage and serves to indicate the fact that the functions of the particle *wo3* are still evolving. In the next sections, the uses of *bo3* in the late 20th century will be discussed and compared with those of *wo3*.

3. The uses of *bo3* in the late 20th century

In the HKUCC, the SFP *bo3* occurs very rarely as an independent SFP. Only five cases were found. Out of the five cases, four are used in short negative sentences while only one case is positive. It is clear that the mood conveyed by this particle is to show “contrast”. The following are the five examples of *bo3* used singly found in the HKUCC. It is used with short negative sentences in four examples to indicate “contrary to the listener’s expectations” (see 3.1), and is used in one single example conveying “realization” (see 3.2).

3.1 Contrast

The SFP *bo3* in the first four examples below is used with short negative utterances to show “contrast”:

Example 14 (HKUCC)

A : 你 fang4 機， 我 開 大 喲
nei5 fang4 gei1, ngo5 hoi1 daai6 di1
2SG play machine, 1SG turn on loud ASP

“A: You want to play the Hi-Fi, I turn it louder.”

B :唔 係 啪， 但係 你 fang4 機， 佢 可以 搵 差人 喲
m4 hai6 bo3, daan6hai6 nei5 fang4 gei1, keoi5 ho2ji5 wan2 caai1jan4 wo3
NEG COP SFP, but 2SG play machine, 3SG AUX find police SFP

“No, but if you play it too loud, s/he can call the police”.

This dialogue happened late at night. Speaker A said that it was possible to increase the volume of the Hi-Fi, but Speaker B immediately reminded him, contrary to his expectation, that if the volume was too high, his neighbour could complain about it to the police. In Speaker B’s utterance, *bo3* shows “contrast”, and *wo3* at the end of the last utterance “s/he can call the police” has a reminding function, bringing the hearer’s attention to the situation which the hearer should have knowledge of, but is not currently thinking about. Therefore, the functions of these two particles are different.

Example 15 (HKUCC)

唔 係 啪， 佢都 係 啪， 因為.....
m4 hai6 bo3, keoi5dei6 dou1 hai6 gam2 ge3, jan1wai6
NEG COP SFP, 3PL ADV COP this GEN, because

“No, (contrary to what you think) they also did so because....”

In the above example, the hearer dislikes the way some people have acted and believes other people may not act this way. The speaker immediately explains to him that the situation is actually the same, and that there must be a reason why the people acted that way, and then he provides the reason to the hearer. The SFP *bo3* functions to show contrast, that is, to show the thing which is different from what the hearer thinks.

The two examples below also reveal the crucial function of *bo3* is to show that something is contrary to the hearer’s expectations. In Example 16, the speaker means he does not have the knowledge or control of the matter that the hearer asked, and he asks the hearer to seek the answer from the persons who are responsible for the matter. In Example 17, Speaker A asks Speaker B whether C has ever gone out. The particle *bo3* in Speaker B’s reply “No” carries a sense of “contrast” meaning despite of A’s doubt, C keeps staying in the room.

Example 16 (HKUCC)

我 都 唔 知 嘗，哩啲 嘢 係 人事部，
 ngo5 dou1 m4 zi1 bo3, li1di1 je5 hai6 jan4si6bou6,
 1SG ADV NEG know SFP, DEM-PL stuff COP personnel department,
 你 問 返 人事部
 nei5 man6 faan1 jan4si6bou6
 2SG ask ASP personnel department

“I don’t know either. This is the business of human resource department, you should ask them.”

Example 17 (Fight 1991)

A : 哟，噃 有 有 出 過 嘍 啊？
 o2, gam2 jau5 mou5 ceot1 gwo3 lai4 aa3
 INJ, DM have NEG out ASP come SFP?
 “Oh, then has he gone outside?

B : 有 嘗
 mou5 bo3
 NEG SFP
 “No.”

3.2 An exceptional case

Out of the five cases of the single *bo3* found in the spoken data, only the following example is an exceptional case which appears in the positive sentence and conveys the mood of “realization”:

Example 18 (HKUCC)

A : 係 啊，四 代 同 堂 叱 嘛 我哋。
 hai6 aa3, sei3 doi6 tung4 tong4 aa1 maa3 ngo5dei6
 COP SFP, four generation same house SFP SFP 1PL
 “Yes, we are four generations in a house.”

B : 真係 犀利， 果然 係 大 家族 嘗
 zan1hai6 sai1lei6, gwo2jin4 hai6 daai6 gaa1zuk6 bo3
 Really COP great, ADV COP big family SFP
 “Wow! You really have a big family!”

In the above example, the particle *bo3* can be substituted by *wo3* in modern Cantonese, not only with no change in meaning but also with more naturalness. Speaker A tells Speaker B that his parents, grandparents and great grandparents are alive and well, and so four generations are present together, which is regarded as a blessing in the eyes of the Chinese. Speaker B agrees with Speaker A that Speaker A does have a big family, showing his realization of something that he did not know before, and the particle *bo3* in this example functions to show “realization”, different from the four examples above. “Realization” was once the old usage of *bo3* (table 1) and is infrequently used to show “realization” nowadays. It is the basic function of modern Cantonese particle *wo3* (see 2.1). Since in the HKUCC there is only one example of such use, we lack evidence to prove that such usage is the function of the particle *bo3*. It would be better to treat this function as a residue of the old usage of *bo3*. Moreover, in Hong Kong Cantonese the particle *bo3* can normally be used together with *gaa3* (and its variant *go3*), *laa3* (and its variant *lo3*), *tim1* and *zaa3* to form the two-particle clusters *gaa3bo3*, *laa3bo3*, *timbo3* and *zaa3bo3*, and three-particle clusters *gaa3laa3bo3* and *gaa3zaa3bo3*.

3.3 Short summary

The data show that in modern Cantonese, the fundamental function of the SFP *bo3* is to show contrast in the short negative sentences. It is less often used singly and appears very rarely as an independent SFP. *Bo3* tends to be used mainly with other particles to form particle-clusters, such as *gaa3bo3*, *tim1bo3*, *zaa3bo3* and *golo3bo3*. This characteristic of *bo3* makes it distinct from other Cantonese SFPs, some of which can only be used singly but not in particle clusters (e.g., *aa5*, *le5*), others can be used both singly and in particle-clusters (e.g., *gaa3*, *laa3*) but their primary uses are not in particle-clusters as is the case of *bo3*.

Earlier literature shows that *bo3* could be used singly as well as in particle-clusters such as *gaa3bo3*, *laa3bo3* and *gaa3laa3bo3*. In contrast to the very few examples found in the spoken data, quite a number of examples of *bo3* used singly can be found in earlier literature. The decline in the single use of *bo3* may be due to its replacement by *wo3* in the situations where *bo3* could once be used independently, that is to say, the two particles have merged as speakers chose to use the less effortful particle *wo3*, and consequently *wo3* has gradually taken up the various functions of *bo3* and appears more frequently nowadays than *bo3*. However, *bo3* has not become extinct; it still retains its importance in particle-clusters such as *gaa3laa3bo3* and has not been totally replaced by *wo3*.

4. Major findings and conclusions

From the above examples and discussions, we see an imbalance of the frequency of use of the particles *wo3* and *bo3* in the language materials of the 1990s. The functions of the two particles mentioned in the previous sections can be illustrated as follows:

Stage	Functions of <i>wo3</i> and <i>bo3</i>	
	<i>wo3</i>	<i>bo3</i>
1990s	(1) Realization	(1) Contrast
	(2) Reminder	
	(3) Hearsay	
	(4) Contrast	

Performing four functions, the SFP *wo3* in the late 20th century can be described as functionally versatile. It can also be used at the end of imperative and exclamatory sentences, a feature which cannot be found in past materials and thus believed to be a novel usage. In other words, the functions of *wo3* seem to be expanding continuously.

As for the SFP *bo3*, the situation goes in the opposite direction. As we consult the past materials, the current finding almost excludes the usual tone of “emphasizing” which was commonly claimed by scholars in the early and middle of the 20th century (Ball 1888, 1924, O’Melia 1954, Cowles 1965). However, in contrast to the functionally versatile *wo3*, in the late 20th century its functions seemed to be contracting and there are no signs of its further development. From the examples of this particle in 3.1, the major use of the SFP *bo3* is to show “contrast” in negative sentences. Moreover, it is remarkable that *bo3* was rarely used singly in the late 20th century but tended to be generally used with *gaa3*, *laa3*, *tim1* and *zaa1* to form particle-clusters.

To sum up, the two SFPs carry and serve different meanings and functions in modern Hong Kong Cantonese, and thus they are not exactly the same particles and not interchangeable as previously assumed. Since recent scholars have tended to associate *wo3* with *bo3* (Kwok 1984, Ouyang 1990, Li 1995, Fang 2003) and the frequency of *bo3* has greatly dropped over the past decades, it seems reasonable to figure out the relationships between the two particles diachronically to see how the particle *wo3* has gradually developed in history and what functions it has performed by examining the diverse data in detail. Furthermore, the uses of the particle-clusters involving *bo3* in different periods of time are also worth studying in order to clearly show how *bo3* has changed in the past one hundred years.

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Table 1. Scholars' views on the usage of *bo3* and *wo3* from 1888 to 2007

Scholars	<i>bo3</i>	<i>wo3</i>
Ball (1888)	Very emphatic, used alone, or used with the final <i>lo</i> (囉) or <i>lok</i> (咯).	denoting that the statement preceding it has been made by some one before
Wisner (1906)	Imperative: the most decisive that can be used Declarative: used in giving a decisive declaration with reference to anything	No mention
Ball (1924)	Very emphatic, used alone, or often after the final <i>lo</i> (囉)	denoting that the statement preceding it has been made by some one before
Sung (1934)	Meaning you do not understand it yet, that deed is really so.	No mention
O'Melia (1954)	Emphatic declarative	No mention
Cowles (1965)	A final: emphatic	No mention
Cheung (1972)	Providing opinion, emphasizing	No mention
Lau (1975)	Sign of an emphatic reminder or complaint	No mention
Rao (1983)	Reminding, advising	No mention
Kwok (1984)	Remind the hearer to take something into special consideration	Weakened form of <i>bo3</i>
Luke (1990)	Variant form of <i>wo3</i>	Unexpectedness, noteworthiness,

		remarkableness, unusualness
Ouyang (1990)	Tones of negotiating, addressing criteria and request, waiting for reply, orders and command.	Reminding, discussing or enlightening, same as <i>bo3</i> , but lighter in tone.
Deng (1991)	Feeling of the speaker, negotiating with others, reminding, urging.	No mention
Leung (1992)	Lack of self-opinion, asking for advice and agreement, begging for reminders, milder than <i>wo3</i> in tone.	The meaning of having the responsibility, duty to do so, discussing, ordering, new message.
Matthews & Yip (1994)	Exclamatory, appreciative	Informative (noteworthiness)
Li (1995)	Emphasizing, to draw the hearer's attention to what may be neglected, or the speakers suddenly notice a situation.	Weakened form of <i>bo3</i> .
Fang (2003)	Reminding, emphasizing, exclaiming, blaming and enlightening and accusing.	Weakened form of <i>bo3</i> .
Cheung (2007)	Providing opinion, emphasizing	No mention

List of abbreviations

ADV	Adverb
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliray
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complement marker
COP	Copular
DEM	Determiner
DM	Discourse marker
GEN	Genitive
INJ	Interjection
NEG	Negator
PL	Plural
PRE	Prefix
SFP	Sentence-final Particle
SG	Singler

Essential Factor Analysis to the Site Selection for the Administration Center of the Minority Area

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Abstract

China's minority area is vast in territory and fruitful in resources. The minority area occupies considerable proportion of China, but its local economy and urban construction was relatively backwardness. Along with the unceasing development of the economy and urbanization, the town construction in this area is speeding up day by day. As an important component of the city, the administrative center's site selection is getting increasingly important. The author unifies the experience of the site selection for the administration center in the multi-national area, figures out some essential factors of the site selection, and carries on the simple analysis to the essential factors.

Keywords: Minority area, Administration center, Site selection, Essential factor, Analysis

1. Introduction

China's minority area is vast in territory and fruitful in resources. Up to 1997, the autonomous areas amounted to 6,162,900 square kilometers, accounted for 64.2% of the nation's total area. (Jia Donghai, 2007 See also Figure 1). Along with the unceasing development of the economy and urbanization, the town construction in this area is speeding up day by day. As an important component of the city, the administrative center's site selection is getting increasingly important. The author unifies the experience of the site selection for the administration center in the multi-national area, figures out some essential factors of the site selection, and carries on the simple analysis to the essential factors.

Insert Figure 1 Here

2. The positive impacts of administrative center relocation on city's development

2.1 Guides the urban development

The social economy development and the speed up of the urbanization not only provide the opportunity for the city's development, but also set the new request to the urban function and the spatial structure, so the urban function layout often needs a significant adjustment. The administrative center is the hub of the city's administrative institutions, its site selection and the construction manifest the government's policy support and capital input to the local development, therefore may lead the fast development in the new urban areas.

2.2 Reduce the pressure of old urban areas

In many Chinese cities, the city's constructions often take the old city as the center and expand on the circle level type. The public activity centers still gather in the old city, which lead the population density to be excessively high, the infrastructure load to be heavy and the public service facilities to be insufficient. If the city continues taking the old city as the center to develop, will inevitably causes the large-scale old city renovation, which will not only increase the

economic cost, but also destroy the historical layout. The administrative center's relocation may improve the work condition and provides the space for old city's other functions, it may also help to protect the heritage attractions and the traditional style.

However, if the location of administrative center is selected improperly and cannot be coordinated with the region development opportunity and the urban economy strength, it will be very difficult to lead the development in the new urban areas, it will also increase government's financial burden and bring the negative influence for the urban development.

3. The essential factors

3.1 Cultural of minority nationalities

In the process of the long-term development, various nationalities create their own culture, including the material culture and spiritual culture, with the national characteristics to reflect the national history and social life.

Fully consider and respect the national culture in the area in the site selection process, and integrate the national culture to the architectural feature of the administrative center.

3.2 Scale and function of the administrative center

In China, an urban Administration Centre is the place for the Party and government organizations to exercise urban political decision-making. Our country generally calls all levels of Party committees and government posts as "administration centres". The Urban Administration Centre, refers in particular to municipal state agencies, which generally include the Four Big Organized Groups: The Municipal Party Committee, City National People's Congress, The Municipal Government and The City Political Consultative Conference. The Urban Administration Centre includes the constructions and their extended construction area.

Based on the analogy analysis of the domestic cities' relative material and the predict of the urban forward population, we can calculate the land and building scale of the administration center.

3.3 The development direction according to the city's Master Plan

The location of the urban administration center has the major impacts on the urban economic development, the layout structure, the road system plan and the organization of architectural esthetics space. So the location selected should be more forward-looking, and the centre should be timely distributed in the city's future prioritized region to come in line with the city's master plan. This is because, in the citizens' opinion, the government is the confidence guarantee, a commercial building possibly goes bankrupt, but the administration building relatively is much safer. Only under the government's construction, the infrastructure (water, electricity, road, gas etc.) and servicing facilities (hospital, school, posts and telecommunications, public security etc.) can form the high level in a short period in the newly developed area, this is what the developer would be unable to achieve.

3.4 Driving the development in the new urban area

In the market economy, the city is the result of the country's long-term and large amount funding investment, is the capital physical form, and is also the greatest visible state asset belongs to the government. The government is able to utilize the market economy as a method to gather, reorganize and operate the natural growth capital (land, for example), manpower function capital (road, bridge, for example) and related extending capital (name the roads and bridges, for example). So the government can stimulate the storage to the greatest advantage, can take a new road of "building city with city" and "revitalizing city with city", and can also realize the urban self-accumulation and the self-increment.

Along with the implementation of the land's paid use and the market economy development, the price variance of the different location's land is obvious day by day, this requests that the "golden" the land is the more outputs it should produce, and "the highest rent principle" is asked to be followed which means that lands should be occupied by the high-output professions such as finance or insurance.

Because of the lead role of the center's development to the city socio-economic development, its site selection should fully consider the sustainable development of its peripheral space which means its peripheral space must have the sufficient land for development and construction. Only in this way, the center can fully display its social economy benefit and become the city's point of growth.

According to The Central Place Theory, in the isotropic region, the zone with the strongest power of the gathering, radiating and exemplifying is located generally at the central place of the future prioritized region. Therefore, in the process of relocation, the center generally should be located at the prioritized new area, in order to cause it to become the point of growth of the urban space and the socio-economic development.

3.5 Site's natural conditions

The administrative center is an important architectural complex and urban space, so it should be built on a land with more superior physical geography condition. For example, the location should consider the geology topographical condition to avoid the disaster risk, and should not be on the land with excessively low topography to avoid the flood disaster. The suitable location should have sufficient space to use, and its slope and elevation difference is gentle, the bearing capacity of soil foundation is strong and its draining system is quite good in the region.

The traditional Feng-Shui theory named the site selection for the public activity center as “The Acupoint Selection”, the administrative center is the Central Acupoint (is also called “Hall Acupoint”), and should be prioritized located in the south of mountain and the north of water with high topography. In this traditional Feng-Shui pattern of backing-mountain and facing-water, it is highly advantageous to form a good ecological and partial microclimate, is a model of valuable land with a good Feng-Shui (Gao Shiming, 2006).

3.6 Traffic conditions

A cardinal principle of the site selection is to establish the centre in a well communicational area. As an urban administration center, on the one hand, it should provide the service very conveniently for the residents, on the other hand, it must avoid forming the traffic bottleneck in the local area. The centre is a place to be visited by the public, therefore it should be located beside the main city roads (or not far from the main roads), but should avoid the cross-boundary roads. It also should be close to the life main road and the mixing main road, but should not be very close to the transportation main road.

3.7 Development cost and feasibility

The center's construction is quite a huge project, therefore, the principle of the feasibility should be insistently considered by all means in the process of the site selection and its construction. The planning department should carry on thorough inspection and proof on the base condition, relocation situation and the economic efficiency of the prospective locations, then choose the relatively investment-saving and development-driving proposal. In this way, the construction of the administrative center might be of good operability. The quantity of the buildings would be removed and the terrain slope of the land are the two important attributes affect the construction cost (Chen Xiugang, 2003).

3.8 Favorable to mold the urban landscape characteristic

The administrative center is the city's living room, the city's landmark construction, and the window displaying the city's image, therefore, the site selection of administration center in the multi-national area should fully consider the national landscape characteristic with the physical geography condition, the centre should be located in the place with symbolize significance where is in the superior geography condition and easy to create a national landscape characteristic.

4. Conclusion

The economy and urban construction in the minority area is relatively backward, if through the urban administration center's relocation, the city can promote the urban image, improve the urban appearance, and stimulate the urban economy development, then the city can proceed to lead the sustainable and unceasing economy development in the multi-national area, the site selection for the urban administrative center is truly successful.

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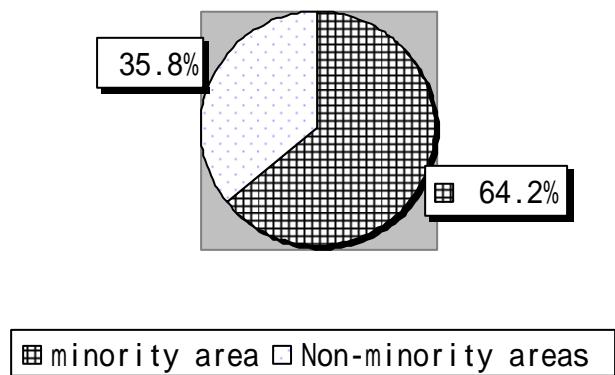


Figure 1. The proportion of the minority area accounts for the national area

Internet Use and Internet Addiction Disorder among Medical Students: A Case from China

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Abstract

Internet is used more and more widely and extensively among university students. In order to keep abreast of Internet use among medical students, provide basis for cultivating correct and reasonable Internet use habits of them, based on expert consultation and literature review, a "Questionnaire on University Students' Internet Behavior" is designed by the author, method of randomly stratified cluster sampling is employed to conduct questionnaire survey on 380 students from three medical academies in Xi'an in China, and the investigation results are analyzed through statistics. According to the result, the reported rate of medical students' Internet surfing is 92.3%; with respect to the frequencies of Internet behaviors, it differs among medical students; close attention is paid to sending & receiving e-mails, searching for information, chatting, browsing current affairs, et al; while little attention is paid to business negotiation, falling in love and sexual behavior; in the prevalence rate of Internet addiction disorder, boys' is obviously higher than girls'. In all, Internet behaviors of medical students are characterized by high need-hierarchy, concentrated value orientation and various types. But Internet addiction disorder is also rather conspicuous. Therefore families, universities and the society shall attach importance to it and take measures if necessary.

Keywords: Internet, Addiction, Internet addiction, Internet addiction disorder, Usage patterns

1. Introduction

With the rapid development of modern science and technology, information network technology has blazed a trail in our learning, work and life. In the wake of the fast development of network construction in universities, the number of Internet-using university students is increasing. A series of problems, including Internet addiction disorder (IAD), resulting from the misuse of Internet accompanying the excessive use of Internet, arouse attentions of researchers all over the world (Kraut et al., 2002; Cui et al., 2006; Pratarelli et al., 1999; Pratarelli & Browne, 2002; Kandell, 1998; Murali & George, 2007).

Younger Internet users (i.e., between 18 and 24 years old) were more at risk of becoming Internet addicts than older users (Soule et al., 2003; Thatcher & Goolam, 2005). Institutions of higher learning are the main body for cultivating & educating university students. In response to the tremendous impact of Internet on university students, many universities have taken various counter-measures. However, the diversity of student's Internet behaviors and their features makes the counter-measures lack of target and lowers the education efficiency.

In an effort to size up Internet use and IAD of students in medical academies and to guide medical students to use Internet correctly, we conducted questionnaire survey among some students at medical academies in Xi'an in China on their Internet use and IAD from June 10th 2009 to July 10th 2009. .

2. Material and methods

By employing "Questionnaire on University Students' Internet Behavior" designed by the author, 380 students from three medical academies in Xi'an are investigated by randomly stratified cluster sampling, among whom there are 201 boys, accounting for 52.9%, and 179 girls, accounting for 47.1%, with ages ranking from 18 to 24. .

The questionnaire is designed by referring to a large sum of literature and data, especially part of the contents about Internet use and IAD in "Questionnaire on Health-related Behaviors of Adolescents in China" made by the Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Yang et al., 2008) and Young's questionnaire for addictive Internet use (1996). Many experts' opinions and suggestions are heard in the process of questionnaire design.

The questionnaire includes several questions and its content can be learnt form Table 1 to Table 5. In Table 3, the questionnaire involves 18 Internet behaviors, and each of them falls into 5 levels in frequency ranking from frequent (twice at least per week), occasional (once at most per week), planned to (without plan in the past but now), used to (used to have but now not), never (without plan and so is now).

IAD is an individual's inability to control their Internet use, which in turn leads to feelings of distress and functional impairment of daily activities (Shapira et al., 2003). Table 4 is used to measure the condition of IAD of medical students. Based on Young's questionnaire (1996) and the actual situation of the investigation, we listed 10 items in Table 4. if four or more than four items in index 2-10 appear, it is classified as the tendency of IAD behavior, while if index 1 and four or more than four items in index 2-10 appear, it is classified as IAD.

The questionnaire is distributed with the help of health care teachers of the university to have anonymous questionnaire survey by means of organizing students by class with the teachers absent, allowing students to keep questions they are unwilling to answer blank, stating that the materials they fill will be kept secret, and taking strict quality-control measures in the whole process of survey.

In the investigation, 380 questionnaires are distributed with 365 collected, accounting for 96.1%, among which 352 are proved to be valid, taking up 97.5%. The data is treated and analyzed statistically by SPSS14.0 software.

3. Results

3.1 General condition

Among the 352 medical students, 325 students surf on the Internet, with 92.3%'s total reported rate of Internet-surfing. Rate of Internet-surfing of boys and girls is 95.6% (172/180) and 89.0% (153/172) respectively, and rate of boys are higher than that of girls ($X^2=5.413$, $P<0.05$). Grouped by grade, the rate of Internet-surfing of freshman is significantly lower than that of sophomore ($X^2=11.734$, $P<0.05$), junior ($X^2=15.948$, $P<0.01$), and senior ($X^2=23.238$, $P<0.01$). But there is no difference between sophomore, junior and senior ($P>0.05$). (See Table 1)

Table 1

In terms of the time of Internet-surfing, in the past 7 days, the reported rate on less than 1h, 1h~2h, 2h~3h, 3h~4h and larger than 4h's average time for Internet-surfing per day is 14.8%, 23.6%, 25.3%, 19.0%, and 9.7% respectively. The statistical result shows that among the students of long-time Internet-surfing ($>=3h$ on average per day), difference between the reported rate of boys and that of girls is significant in statistics with the reported rate of boys being much higher than that of girls. (See Table 2)

Table 2

3.2 Analysis on frequency of Internet behaviors

From our investigation, such Internet behavior of medical students as sending & receiving e-mails, searching for information, chatting online, browsing current news, browsing entertainment news, and listening to music are common. They show less enthusiasm in watching film, downloading, consulting online, discussing online, browsing sports news, and browsing literature works. Playing games, browsing pornographic web pages, shopping, having sexual behavior online, falling in love online, and doing business are still rare. Among the Internet behaviors that students plan to conduct, listening to music, watching films, discussing online, and playing games are favored with selection rates all larger than 15%. Browsing pornographic web pages, browsing current news, falling in love or having sexual behavior

online is least popular among students with the selection rate less than 7%. Among the Internet behaviors that are never desirable, the top four are having sexual behavior online, falling in love online, browsing pornographic web pages and doing business with selection rates all larger than 48%, while the last four behaviors are sending & receiving e-mail, chatting online, searching for information, and browsing entertainment news with selection rates being 3% - 6%. For the detailed information, please check Table 3.

Table 3

3.3 IAD behavior and situation of each index

The prevalence rate of IAD is 16.2%, 20.6% for boys, and 11.6% for girls. The difference between both rates is of statistical significance ($X^2=5.166$, $P<0.05$), and it is apparent that the rate of boys is significantly higher than that of girls; the reported rate of IAD is 4.3%, 6.7% for boys, and 1.7% for girls. The difference between both rates is of statistical significance ($X^2=4.087$, $P<0.05$), and it is apparent that the rate of boys is significantly higher than that of girls. Among the IAD behaviors, several ones enjoying relatively high frequency are "The time of Internet surfing often exceeds the anticipated one", "The expected time of surfing on the Internet is longer than the present one", "When being off the Internet, mind is still haunted by things on the Internet", "Although rational thinking tells not to surf on the Internet, it is beyond control", "Kicking out difficult situation, depression, helplessness or anxious feeling by surfing on the Internet" successively, accounting for 39.8%, 28.7%, 22.7%, 19.3%, 19.0% respectively, and followed by "Feeling boring and anxious because of not being able to surf on the Internet", "Concealing the fact of Internet surfing", "Homework can't be finished or playing truant once and for all because of Internet surfing", "The time for surfing on the Internet every day exceeds 4 hours", and "Coming into collision with teachers or parents because of Internet surfing" respectively. (See Table 4)

Table 4

3.4 Relation between IAD and academic record

Spending time on Internet surfing has its proper extent and some scholars pointed out that the successive time for Internet surfing of students should not be more than 2h (Griffiths et al., 1999). Long time surfing on the Internet will have some possible adverse impact upon academic performance, behavior and custom of students (Scherer, 1997). For those with good academic record (average academic record is between 91 to 100), the prevalence rate of IAD is 5.7%; for those with academic record of above the average (average academic record is between 81 to 90), the prevalence rate is 11.5%; for those with average academic record (average academic record is between 71-80), the rate is 14.0%, while for those with academic record of below the average (average academic record is between 61-70), it is 27.1%; for those with bad academic record (average academic record is below 60), it is 24.1%. It can be calculated from Table 5 that dangerous Internet behaviors tend to have negative correlation with the academic record of medical students ($X^2=11.877$, $P<0.05$). (See Table 5)

Table 5

4. Discussion*4.1 Internet use characteristics of medical students*

It is shown by the survey this time that majority of medical students have the experience of Internet surfing, the rate of Internet surfing for male is higher than that for female. Findings from a study conducted by the Pew Internet & American Life Project on college students' use of the Internet revealed that this group heavily uses the Internet when compared to the general population (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2002). Freshman's Internet-surfing rate is obviously lower than those in other grades'. By analysis, the possible reason is that freshmen just enter a new environment and are still affected by the management mode of middle school. After entering the sophomore year, school management will be loosened up gradually, and students tend to have self-requirements relaxed.

John Suler deemed that people's behavior in cyberspace was to satisfy the need of sex drive, the need to alter state of consciousness, the need for achievement and mastery, the need to belong, the need for relationships, the need for self-actualization and the transcendence of self. These needs can not all be satisfied in real life, but the Internet can compensate people in various ways (Suler, 1999). According to Maslow's Need-hierarchy Theory, people have five basic needs, among which physiological and safety needs are the low-level ones, while need for affiliation, respect and self-actualization are the high-level ones (1943). It is found through our study that Internet-surfing medical students, no matter at present or in the future, are not too keen on survival need (such as doing business, shopping, etc.) and physiological need (such as Internet sexual behavior, playing game, browsing pornographic web pages, etc.), showing that high-level needs such as need for knowledge and friendship acquisition (receiving & sending e-mail, chatting, browsing news or literature works) are the mainstream need for Internet-surfing medical students. The result corresponds with the viewpoint of Rotunda et al (2003) and Lal et al (2006).

The online behaviors shown in Table 3 that students resist are mainly low-level needs such as online sexual behavior,

falling in love, doing business, browsing pornographic web pages, shopping, etc., indicating that medical students possess remarkable ability in differentiating, analyzing and choosing Internet information; therefore, there is no need to worry too much that those students may be aggrieved by unhealthy information on the Internet. Among the Internet behaviors which are going to be conducted, survival needs such as shopping, doing business, etc. rank top five in terms of occurrence rate, prompting that medical students are more likely to conduct Internet behaviors for economic reasons or have a strong desire to attempt emerging things on the Internet, therefore guidance needs to be given properly.

In addition, activities such as chatting online and browsing entertainment news are still the ones which university students pay the most attention to in Internet application. Despite that learning (looking up information and browsing news) through the Internet remains a high proportion, an unbalance still exists in Internet use of the medical students. They pursue much more for making friends and entertainment on the Internet with possible reason that their extracurricular activities are monotonous and they overindulge themselves in the virtual world of Internet. A media perception survey of over 350 college students and recent graduates indicates that 43% spent at least ten hours per week on the Internet with 24% reporting that they were active participants in online bulletin boards, groups or chat rooms (Lowe, 2006).

4.2 IAD of medical students

In evaluating IAD behavior of university students, this survey adopted two indexes, prevalence of IAD and IAD, for description, which makes it possible to reflect truly and comprehensively the characteristics of IAD behavior occurring among the group of medical students (Liang et al., 2008). Although the reported rate of IAD is only 4.3%, prevalence rate of IAD is as high as 16.2%, in Table 4, most indexes of addiction disorder are all relatively high in the occurrence proportion, indicating that as one of spiritual addictive behaviors, IAD behavior brings serious harm to the group of medical students.

IAD behavior has brought a negative impact on the academic record of medical students and their physical and psychological health. Further more, it resulted in their frustration in interpersonal relationship and social interaction, and even may lead to the occurrence of some extreme behaviors. Yang and Tung noted that students afflicted with psychological disorders such as dependence, extreme shyness, depression, and low self-esteem had a high tendency to become addicted to the Internet (Yang & Tung, 2007). Educators should pay special attention to students of these types.

The study result shows that no matter for long-time Internet surfing or IAD behaviors, boys always overwhelm girls in quantity, indicating that self-discipline capability differs between the two genders. This corresponds with the research result of Shotton (1991) and Morahan-Martin et al (2000), but contradicts with that of Soule et al (2003) and Griffiths (1997).

4.3 Implication in education work

The above-mentioned characteristics of online behaviors of medical students reveal to us that neither shall we lower the guard in terms of education work about students' Internet surfing, nor worry too much about it. Although the dispersivity of students' Internet surfing increases the difficulty of corresponding work, its other characteristics such as high need-hierarchy, concentrated value orientation and various types also provide convenience for education work. As a special group preparing to step into the society, the university students stay far away from the family, live independently at school and are in less contact and communication with parents; the school management is relatively loose, aiming mainly to cultivate their ability of independence. In such a critical period of life, university students are still unstable and immature in psychological development; therefore, the society, university and family shall take comprehensive intervention measures in connection with the features of university students. For the government, supervision over net bars shall be intensified; for family, communication and guidance of the students shall be strengthened, and for university, proper education and management shall be carried out for students. Among the three parties, colleges and universities, in particular, take important responsibility, shall enhance campus culture construction, create sound atmosphere of Internet culture in campus, enrich the extracurricular activities, hold high-level lectures on artistic appreciation, cultivate and improve medical student's ability of aesthetic appreciation and artistic taste, defend against the decadent content on the Internet, reduce the occurrence of IAD behavior, and protect university students for their healthy growth.

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Table 1. Internet-surfing condition of students in different grades of medical academies in Xi'an

Grade	The Number of Investigated Students	The Number of Internet-surfing Students	Internet-surfing Rate
Freshman	75	57	76.0%
Sophomore	100	94	94.0%
Junior	91	88	96.7%
Senior	86	86	100%
Total	352	325	92.3%

Table 2. Comparison of Internet-surfing time of students in medical academies in Xi'an in the past 7 days

Gender	The Number	<1h	1h~2h	2h~3h	3h~4h	4h<
Male	180	24(13.3%)	38(21.1%)	45(25.0%)	42(23.3%)	23(12.8%)
Female	172	28(16.3%)	45(26.2%)	44(25.6%)	25(14.5%)	11(6.4%)
Total	352	52(14.8%)	83(23.6%)	89(25.3%)	67(19.0%)	34(9.7%)
X ² Value		X ² =0.606	X ² =1.246	X ² =0.016	X ² =4.418	X ² =4.106
P Value		P>0.05	P=0.05	P=0.05	P<0.05	P<0.05

Table 3. Analysis on frequency of Internet behaviors of medical students in medical academies in Xi'an

Behaviors	Frequencies (The Number of Students)				
	Frequent	Occasional	Planned to	Used to	Never
Playing games	37(10.5%)	78(22.2%)	51(14.5%)	63(17.9%)	96(27.3%)
Listening to music	81(23.0%)	106(30.1%)	54(15.3%)	38(10.8%)	46(13.1%)
Watching films	73(20.7%)	142(40.3%)	21(6.0%)	64(18.2%)	25(7.1%)
Sending & receiving e-mail	181(51.4%)	79(22.4%)	29(8.2%)	24(6.8%)	12(3.4%)
Browsing literature works	49(13.9%)	108(30.7%)	58(16.5%)	60(17.0%)	50(14.2%)
Searching for information	121(34.4%)	116(33.0%)	29(8.2%)	44(12.5%)	15(4.3%)
Online Discussion	42(11.9%)	81(23.0%)	55(15.6%)	65(18.5%)	82(23.3%)
Chatting online	103(29.3%)	124(35.2%)	48(13.6%)	32(9.1%)	18(5.1%)
Falling in love online	13(3.7%)	21(6.0%)	21(6.0%)	28(8.0%)	242(68.8%)
Having sexual behavior online	10(2.8%)	14(5.6%)	12(4.8%)	17(4.8%)	272(77.3%)
Browsing pornographic web pages	23(6.5%)	46(13.1%)	33(9.4%)	55(15.6%)	168(47.7%)
Browsing current news	89(25.3%)	155(44.0%)	7(2.0%)	53(15.1%)	21(6.0%)
Browsing entertainment news	85(24.1%)	132(37.5%)	30(8.5%)	67(19.0%)	11(3.1%)
Browsing sports news	72(20.5%)	145(41.2%)	27(7.7%)	58(16.5%)	23(6.5%)
Downloading	67(19.0%)	131(37.2%)	46(13.1%)	60(17.0%)	21(6.0%)
Shopping online	26(7.4%)	55(15.6%)	20(5.7%)	65(18.5%)	159(45.2%)
Doing business online	10(2.8%)	20(5.7%)	33(9.4%)	20(5.7%)	242(68.9%)
Consulting online	53(15.1%)	71(20.2%)	66(18.9%)	68(19.3%)	67(19.0%)

Table 4. Reported rate of Internet addiction disorder behavior of students in medical colleges in Xi'an

Internet Behaviors	Boys	Girls	Total
The time of Internet surfing often exceeds the anticipated one.	43.3%	36.0%	39.8%
The expected time of surfing on the Internet is longer than the present one.	32.8%	24.4%	28.7%
When being off the Internet, mind is still haunted by things on the Internet.	26.7%	18.6%	22.7%
Although rational thinking tells not to surf on the Internet, it is beyond control.	22.8%	15.7%	19.3%
Kicking out difficult situation, depression, helplessness or anxious feeling by surfing on the Internet	20.6%	17.4%	19.0%
Feeling boring and anxious because of not being able to surf on the Internet	19.4%	8.7%	14.2%
Concealing the fact of Internet surfing	14.4%	6.4%	10.5%
Homework can't be finished or playing truant once and for all because of Internet surfing	12.8%	4.7%	8.9%
The time for surfing on the Internet every day exceeds 4 hours.	12.2%	3.5%	8.0%
Coming into collision with teachers or parents because of Internet surfing	3.9%	1.7%	2.8%

Table 5. The relationship between the prevalence of IAD and academic grades

Academic Record	Number of Prevalence of IAD	Not IAD	Total	Rate of Prevalence of IAD
Good	2	33	35	5.7%
Above average	9	69	78	11.5%
Average	16	98	114	14.0%
Below average	26	70	96	27.1%
Bad	7	22	29	24.1%



Social Inequality and Conflict beyond Class: Developments in Contemporary China

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Abstract

In order to understand the nexus between inequalities, conflict and change in contemporary China, social inequalities should be seen broadly (i.e. include both hierarchy and exclusion), and perceived from social actors' perspective: as those aspects of social hierarchy and division/exclusion which are problematic because they violate the popular sense of justice. This is in line with the theoretical perspective derived from the works of Tocqueville, Durkheim and Weber. According to this perspective, social resentments and antagonisms increase at the time of the economic downturn, especially when this downturn follows the long period of growth, increasing affluence and rising expectations. The most politically consequential aspects of social inequalities in modernizing societies are privileges, discriminations and exclusions; hierarchies of income and authority, by contrast, are typically effectively legitimated by elites. However, the key factor of social stability is the effective management of social inequalities by political elites. Given the effective elite management of inequalities, mass egalitarian mobilizations in China are unlikely. This does not break the nexus between social inequality, conflict and change, but adds an intermediate – and crucial – variable of 'elite management.'

Keywords: Inequality, China, Conflict, Elite, Class

1. Social Inequality and Conflict beyond Class (Note 1)

The financial and economic crisis, while triggered in the West, strongly affects China. The current downturn slows down the economic growth, increases unemployment, and undermines economic security of large sections of industrial workers, especially migrants from rural areas. More significantly, the slowdown follows a long period of a very rapid growth and the accompanying increase in social aspirations and expectations. When prosperity and security (often interpreted in China as 'sufficiency') are threatened, so is the underlying 'compact' between the rulers and the ruled – and this causes widespread concerns. It is feared that the economic 'disparities' (in income, wealth and overall lifechances) that have widened during the period of rapid growth, are likely to widen further at the 'lower end' of the scale, where rising unemployment is likely to increase poverty, especially in rural areas. This is seen as the key sources of class-type antagonism, fuelled by egalitarian resentments and aspirations, aiming at redistributive levelling, and directed against the central and local elites. The crisis, in other words, is seen as a possible trigger for social unrest, and class-type protest mobilisation. (e.g., Bajaria 2008)

Such a scenario, as argued here, is unlikely, because the theoretical perspective on which it rests – derived mainly from the Marxist perspective – is inadequate, and because the alternative model of relations between social inequality, antagonism and conflict, confirmed by the developments in Eastern Europe between 1980 and 1990, anticipates quite different social and political reactions and outcomes. I argue that:

- the non-Marxist (Tocquevillian, Durkheimian and Weberian) theoretical perspectives offer a better guide to the relation between social inequalities, antagonism/conflict and social change in contemporary China than the Marxist one. In particular,
- industrial modernisation and economic growth in China increase the legitimacy and popular acceptance of economic (especially income) inequalities, but decreases the tolerance for socio-cultural inequalities (exclusions, restrictions of rights and freedoms). In other words, modern egalitarianism in China (as elsewhere), reflects growing concerns with exclusions, rather than hierarchies, and increasing aspiration for equal rights, freedoms and opportunities, rather than for

flattening of income hierarchies. Therefore ethno-regional antagonisms and popular mobilisations (related to exclusions) are more likely than class-type antagonisms/mobilisations (related to economic hierarchies);

- the increasing complexity of social inequalities (especially the links between party-political, regional and urban-rural dimensions) mitigates further against social polarisation and class-type mobilisation of popular discontent; and
- the key factor in the link between inequality, antagonism and social change is elite management of inequalities. The Chinese political leaders are united, and they use the highly effective ‘management strategies’: suppression of organized protests, local democratization, declared commitments to reducing ‘disparities’, pre-emptive (local) anti-corruption campaigns, and intense nationalism.

Since the argument focuses on the theoretical foundations, especially the underlying relations between social inequality, social conflict and change, the convenient starting point is a brief critical overview of the major and relevant theoretical perspectives. This overview forms a springboard for developing the core arguments and their application to contemporary developments in China.

2. The theoretical foundations

Four theoretical perspectives have shaped the social scientists’ understanding of social inequalities, conflict and change: Marxist, Tocquevillian, Durkheimian and Weberian. Perhaps the best known, and still widely influential, is a ‘classic’ Marxist perspective that focuses on largely economic *class inequalities* and divisions, usually defined as unequal power and lifechances that reflect the ownership/employment position. Class schemes tend to be polar (owner/employer/rich vs worker/employee/poor), though the new versions introduced some gradations. More importantly, the Marxist perspective suggests: (i) class inequalities of wealth and income, and the accompanying class divisions form the basis of the social structure; (ii) that class divisions widen and ‘simplify’ (polarise) with capitalist development, thus resulting in a widening gap between the major classes; (iii) that this widening gap is increasingly perceived as illegitimate and hurtful, especially by the expanding working and peasant classes, thus increasing class antagonism and conflict (the latter implying class consciousness, identity and organisation); and that (iv) intensifying class antagonisms trigger social upheavals, especially when reinforced by economic downturns and/or political conflicts. These upheavals are typically seen as anti-capitalist egalitarian mobilisations.

This general vision, in all its numerous more and less sophisticated versions, has proven inadequate, contradicting historical development and empirical evidence. And yet, it has also proven remarkably persistent, doubtless, reflecting simplicity *cum* ideological appeal of the Marxist model, and the fact that it has been embraced as a program for social reconstruction by many post-revolutionary regimes. Yet, some alternative perspectives have also been gaining ground, even in China, where Marxist-Maoist orthodoxy is still dominant.

More or less at the same time as Karl Marx formulated his vision of class polarisation, conflict and anti-bourgeois revolution, based mainly on the experiences of rapidly industrialising Britain, Alexis de Tocqueville published a powerful analysis of social developments in France and North America. Tocqueville’s (1950, 1952) diagnosis and prognosis were in many ways diametrically opposed to those of Marx. For a start, instead of class polarisation, he registered and predicted a progressive *equalization* of social conditions, expansion of democratic beliefs and practices, and proliferation of egalitarian culture. This progressive equalization, identified with ‘social democratisation’, was seen by Tocqueville as a historical ‘master trend’ that accompanies industrial modernisation. It reflects the cumulative impact of traditions (especially Christian values), expanding commerce and industry, increasing affluence, democratization of culture, and (in America) the growing strength of civil society.

Both Marx and Tocqueville add important qualifications to their contrasting theoretical visions. Industrial capitalism, according to Marx, does contain some egalitarian tendencies: it destroys aristocracies and undermines oppressive feudal divisions. Moreover, while temporarily increasing class divisions, over the long run capitalism triggers revolutionary upheavals that promote classless socialism. Tocqueville also qualifies his sanguine view of progressive equality of conditions. For a start, ‘equality of conditions’ is not identical to equality outcomes; the former imply equal opportunities, equal civic status, the absence of barriers to political participation and social mobility. Moreover, the egalitarian-democratic trend, he warns, may lead in a despotic-populist (‘despotic’) direction exemplified in his own time by the (post-)revolutionary developments in his native France – or it may progress in a liberal-democratic (‘republican’) direction identified with the American path of developments. These egalitarian paths are clearly demarcated. If the liberal-democratic tendencies prevail, social inequalities take the form of open social hierarchies and universal citizenship rights. If the egalitarian-populist tendencies prove victorious – as they do in revolutions – economically egalitarian but politically despotic central redistribution will prevail.

Note here a Tocquevillian departures from the Marxist vision: the egalitarian-populist revolutions typically occur *not* at the time of crisis and social polarisation, but following growth, reform and liberalization, when elite control weakens, and popular aspirations increase. (Note 2) Yet, Tocqueville promptly adds, the revolutionary hopes of an egalitarian social order are quickly dashed. While the central redistribution of property and income feeds into popular resentments

and egalitarian expectations, the redistributive order proves more politically exclusive and socially oppressive than the one abolished by the revolution. Economic inequalities may decline due to redistribution, but political inequalities, especially suppressed citizenship, generate massive exclusions and power gaps ('despotic democracy'). Therefore Tocqueville is sceptical about revolutions' egalitarian potential, and prizes the American liberal-egalitarian reforms. The latter are based on robust civil society, and they fulfil the egalitarian aspirations in the domain of cultural norms, civic liberties and political democracy.

Revolutions promote centralisation of power and arbitrary redistribution rather than egalitarian order, and the postrevolutionary 'despotic democracy' is a child of social turmoil rather than rational design. This turmoil erodes civil liberties, restricts deliberative political participation, and replaces authentic civic activism by mass centrally choreographed spectacles of allegiance to all-powerful leaders. At the heart of post-revolutionary 'despotic democracy' lies a paradox: a hidden disparity between redistributive economic egalitarianism, and political subordination to an unchecked central authority. Popularly endorsed 'democratic despots', observes Tocqueville, operate above the law, convention and social control. They encourage political passivity and social fragmentation: they easily forgive their subjects for not loving and trusting them, provided that they do not love and trust each other.

These contrasting Marxist and Tocquevillian visions were complemented by two more systematic diagnoses formulated at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries by Emile Durkheim and Max Weber.

Durkheim (1933) sees modern social hierarchies as reflecting synthetic evaluations of social standing (status) which, in turn, articulate the functional importance of occupational roles, and the nature of dominant values and ideologies (the *conscience collective*). Modern social hierarchies converge with occupational status hierarchies that tend to be consensual and integrative – a conclusion flying in the face of Marxist predictions. Social resentments and antagonisms, especially organised conflicts, are symptomatic of *anomie* (insufficient moral regulation), residual ascription, and group particularisms (egoistic group interests) – and they can be minimised by regulatory interventions by free occupational associations and the (regulative, rather than redistributive) state. While in pre-industrial societies social hierarchies are closed, rigid and ascribed, in industrial societies they tend to be open, flexible and achieved. Thus the modern social stratification that accompanies progressive occupational differentiation tends to be widely accepted as fair, provided it reflects the core values. Ascriptive privileges and enforced exclusions are symptomatic of pathological anomie (normlessness) and they trigger social protests. By contrast, modern status hierarchies that are not imposed, but emerge 'organically' so to speak, are seen as legitimate, that is meritocratic, and therefore unlikely to cause widespread social resentments and contestation. Legitimate hierarchies, in other words, reflect collective values and ideals, as well as the requirements of complex social organisation. (Note 3) Illegitimate inequalities and divisions are remnants of the past, or the results of political impositions. In modern societies legitimate-functional inequalities prevail and are legitimised in terms of *talent, investments, and performance* (application and efficiency). (Note 4) The illegitimate inequalities and discriminations – and Durkheim included here a broad range of class and ethno-racial inequalities condemned by socialists and liberals alike – are in decline; they are socially condemned and eliminated by state regulation and industrial reforms.

In a similar way Durkheim argues that the hierarchy of authority in the state is legitimate. State leaders carry the residues of sacred authority enjoyed by tribal chieftains and *pater familae*. At the same time, the special role of the state – as the 'brain of society' – legitimates the authority of state elites. Political hierarchy, in this view, reflects both the functional importance (social coordination) and sacred traditions. This general argument, has been subsequently developed by social anthropologists and sociological functionalists. (Note 5)

This vision of complex, hierarchical yet typically harmonious modernisation contrasts with a less sanguine and more historically anchored Weberian perspective. Weber (1978) stressed both the inegalitarian (hierarchical and centralistic) and imposed nature of modernisation, the latter identified with progressive rationalization. Rationalisation is reflected in the spread of bureaucratic domination and centralisation of state authority, as well as the spread of the market relations, the rule of law, and professionalism. But he rejected Marx's views about centrality and inevitability of class antagonism and its polarising dynamics. Market, rather than property, relations are seen by Weber as the main 'class stratifiers' distributing the lifechances according to market endowments, mainly property and skill). Moreover, class hierarchies always overlapped with, and cross-cut, status and power-organizational hierarchies. The three combine into multi-dimensional complex and open gradations of societal power and lifechances. This mitigates against economic and social/class polarisation. The lifechances of individuals in modern society are resultant of their class position (according to market endowments), status position (according to social honour, standing, prestige), and their position in organizational hierarchies of command (according to authority, proximity to state elites). Modern nation-states command vast power resources and hold monopolies on enforcing laws, thus becoming the key containers of power and the key shapers of authoritative hierarchies. When lifechances are determined primarily by market endowments, class inequalities prevail. But in etatist societies, the main determinants of lifechances are positions in state hierarchies of command, and stratification there resembles a bureaucratic rank order.

With a remarkable degree of prescience, Weber (who died in 1920) suggested that state bureaucracies could suppress and overshadow class by subordinating the market to state commands. Contrary to the beliefs of socialists, though, this would not bring about a condition of classless egalitarianism, but a 'partocratic' hierarchy of power and privilege distributed according to proximity to the state power elite. He also identified a trend toward *complex inequalities*: a system of overlapping and cross-cutting hierarchies of class, status and command/authority. Moreover, he saw elites, especially state political directorates, as key shapers of social hierarchy and order. The centrality of political leadership is increasing with the growing means of central administration and mass persuasion. Modern state elites have much wider means to their disposal to defend (or undermine) social order: they can use the formidable bureaucratic administrative appara (if necessary, backed by force and intimidation), utilise a broad range of legitimations, and deploy the massive propaganda-persuasion machine – which is facilitated by state control of both the mass media and the education system.

These themes, especially the key role of leaders and political elites in 'formatting' social divisions, managing social order and directing social change, have been subsequently developed by contemporary modernisation and elite theorists. The former stress the socially de-polarising impact of modernisation, decomposition and fragmentation of major classes into occupational status hierarchies, and increasing complexity of social divisions, all combined with state management of social conflicts. The latter emphasize the ubiquity of hierarchy and the central role of elites in formatting and management of social inequalities, conflict and change.

3. Contemporary egalitarian mobilisations and elite management

The history of the 20th century proved kinder to Tocqueville, Durkheim and Weber, than to Marx. This has been reflected in contemporary views on social modernization, stratification and conflict, especially the interpretations of more recent developments in Eastern Europe and China.

Egalitarian contestation has been quite common in state-socialist Eastern Europe in the post-WWII period, but it turned mainly against privilege (in the context of shortages of consumer goods and sudden increases of food prices), political exclusion, local corruption and abuses of authority. Most notably, it took the form of predominantly localized protests that were easily defused through a mixture of coercion and accommodation. The Prague Spring reforma and mobilizations of the Solidarity movement in Poland in 1980-1 and then in 1988-89 were notable exceptions. The Solidarity movement initially mobilized in a 'Tocquevillian' sequence of rapid economic growth and liberal reforms followed by a sudden and rapid downturn. Moreover, the 1980-1 mobilization coincided with the 'succession crisis' within the partocratic leadership. The movement clearly rode on a crest of a powerful wave of popular expectations of prosperity (consumption) and political liberalization (pluralism). Both were frustrated by a sudden economic collapse.

Three moments proved decisive in Solidarity's successful mobilisation. First and foremost, the movement was promptly organized under the *charismatic leadership* of Lech Walesa into a 'free trade union' movement, with strong central organization aided by groups of *oppositional intellectuals*. It moved, in other words, from spontaneous protest to well organized reform movement, under a strong central leadership. Second, while it maintained the strongly egalitarian orientation and wore a protective mantle of a 'working class' and 'trade union' movement – thus protecting its 'political correctness' and legitimacy – in fact, it harnessed the *nationalistic* (widening the national autonomy), *libertarian* (improving civil liberties and human rights) and *egalitarian* (redressing the economic and power gaps) aspirations. Public resentments turned against the national party-state elite because the downturn was widely seen as the result of elite failures: incompetence, corruption and arrogance. The communist leaders were seen as Soviet stooges, and referred to as '*them*'. This facilitated the transformation of a protest movement into a national reform movement. Consequently, Solidarity was able to attract supporters and sympathizers in all social strata, all regions, all walks of life, including sections of party appara, though the most over-represented category were young, urban, educated and skilled workers (teachers, engineers, etc.). Third, the mobilisation caught the *political elite demoralised and internally divided*, in the middle of internal quarrels, reshuffles and succession struggles. The party-state leadership was temporarily weakened by divisions and incapable of playing the 'Soviet card'. (Note 6)

However, the circumstances soon changed. By the end of 1981, the party-state leadership emerged re-united and consolidated under the military leadership of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, while Solidarity became fragmented and disorganized, partly under the weight of its size, partly due to its 'anarchic pluralism', and partly due to the deepening economic crisis, social turmoil and growing political uncertainty – all increasing public anxieties. This opened the way for a swift suppression, combined with patriotic appeals that contained a veiled threat of the Soviet invasion. Solidarity was banned and its leadership interned. The movement was suppressed within a few weeks, though it simmered underground for the next seven years.

The combination of economic downturn, party privileges and 'elite factor' proved decisive again during 1988-9. Polish economy went into a tail-spin in 1988 under the weight of mismanagement and massive foreign debt. This, and the privileges for party officials, triggered social upheavals, tolerated because of the ascendancy of Gorbachev's reformists in the Soviet Union. The 'Gorbachev factor' had changed the political climate, especially when Jaruzelski in Poland

declared support for the Soviet reformists. Solidarity re-mobilised and forced the party-state elite into the ‘round table’ negotiations that led to ‘contractual’ elections in June 1989. The latter resulted in a resounding victory of the Solidarity camp, and paved the way for the peaceful dismantling of the partocratic regime. The liberal-democratic reforms that followed were ‘sheltered’ by the victorious Solidarity leaders, though the movement splintered into numerous parties and fractions.

What are the theoretical lessons from these developments?

First and foremost, they followed the Tocquevillian-Weberian-Durkheimian, rather than the Marxist, logic and trajectory. Most studies have consistently shown that tolerance for income disparities and acceptance of hierarchical authority have been increasing in the early stages of industrial modernisation, especially among the industrial workers, urban populations and in large-scale societies – as anticipated by Durkheim and Weber. (Note 7) Complex hierarchies become essential parts of social habitats of urban denizens of the modernizing and modernized worlds alike. Such denizens long for prosperity and security, more than equality, and interpret the latter in a more liberal fashion, as equity or *equality of opportunity, rights and entitlements*. Anti-hierarchical resentments survive among rural/agricultural workers whose daily operations are typically free of complex chains of bureaucratic subordination. At the same time, the tolerance for privilege and exclusion has been declining, as reflected by protests against discrimination, corruption (illicit privilege) and ascriptive exclusion. The patterns of social inequality, and the accompanying patterns of tolerance and resentment, in other words, have been changing, along the lines charted by Tocqueville, Durkheim and Weber. The familiar ‘meritocratic legitimization’ of inequality – in terms of differential talent, investment and performance – gain widespread acceptance, (Note 8) while privilege, discrimination and ascriptive exclusion are condemned.

The marked- and bureaucracy-generated hierarchies seldom require explicit elite legitimization. They are largely self-legitimizing, provided that their growth accompanies increasing prosperity and stability. Where the economic and authority gaps are widening beyond legitimate bounds, elites ‘manage’ discontent by condemning them as ‘distortions’ and ‘abuses’. Elites can also prevent diffuse discontent from turning into organized dissent by threat, propaganda and, occasionally, by force, and pre-empt, e.g., officially sanctioned anti-corruption campaigns. Since social antagonism transforms into social conflict only when it is organized, political elites can manage it quite effectively by a mixture of coercion, manipulation and accommodation. Only the weakened (by internal divisions and systematic failure) elites are vulnerable to serious popular challenges, and only if these challenges mobilize mass support, typically by harnessing the libertarian and nationalistic sentiments.

This point deserves special highlighting. Egalitarian sentiments and resentments alone do not trigger social dissent. They surface mainly as local, unorganized and easily defused protests. They seldom take a form of mass mobilizations and organized movements. The latter may happen when public expectations (of prosperity, security, liberty) are suddenly frustrated, when leaders organize the protests into a reform movement, and – most importantly – when the ruling elites are weakened, divided or otherwise unable to ‘manage’ the social and political order. This observation leads to a short comment about China.

4. Implications for China

China’s market reforms accompany the rapid growth, declining poverty and the widening material inequality, combined with new forms of lifestyle inequalities (Young 2007, Xubei and Nong 2009). These inequalities are likely to be exacerbated by the financial and economic crisis that brings the inevitable increase of unemployment and poverty. Moreover, the crisis hits after the long period of sustained growth, widening opportunities, rising prosperity, increasing security and some liberalization. This may look like a ‘Marxist scenario’ heralding class polarization and mobilization fuelled by egalitarian resentments and directed against the urban rich as well as the party-state elite (rural poor vs urban rich, workers vs ‘cadres’).

However, as argued above, such wide class-like mobilizations are unlikely, incompatible with the theoretical framework outlined above, and counter to the developments of the last three decades in Eastern Europe. For a start, the Chinese elite, mindful of the disruptive legacies of previous class-like Cultural Revolution is unlikely to allow for such mobilizations – they would destroy the achievements of recent reforms. Moreover, the Chinese leadership seems relaxed about widening income gaps – perhaps justifiably so because the ‘disparities’, while wide and possibly increasing, seem to be in line with most developing nations (as well as the USA). The UN Human Development Reports estimate that China’s income gaps are narrower than those of about 30 ‘leaders’ in the inequality league. Moreover, the distribution of wealth (assets) in China remains relatively egalitarian – well below the comparable levels in the developing nations, including India, Brazil and Russia (as well as the USA). (Note 9) Also the scope of poverty, commonly regarded as a foundation and a ‘trigger’ of mass resentments, has not been wide, though the recent crisis may increase the poverty levels in rural areas and in less developed regions.

More importantly, in a truly Durkheimian fashion, Chinese society shows a widespread tolerance for income inequality, in fact, among the strongest tolerance in the developing world. (Note 10) This seems to be in line with the general

conclusion drawn from studies of social perceptions of inequality: ‘Ordinary people do *not* believe in the equal distribution of income, at least not in any country for which we have good evidence. Far from it: they believe in a great deal of inequality, inequality arising in good part from what they see as legitimate rewards to education, occupational achievement, and job performance.’ (Kelly and Evans 2009:20). Popular desires for prosperity, security (‘sufficiency’) opportunity and rights seem to displace expectations of egalitarian redistribution. The issues of distributive justice and exploitation are, at best, the background factors in mass public concerns, even in rural areas typically prone to egalitarian resentments. (Note 11)

The economic downturn, especially when accompanied by large unemployment, may fuel resentments in rural areas and trigger local protests. (Note 12) The downturn is likely to affect mainly the ‘rural-urban migrant workers’ most of whom, even when temporarily laid off, will move back to native villages. However, these resentments are unlikely to encompass the ‘strategic’ urban strata, and they are not likely to turn protests into a mass reformist movement. (Note 13) The central authorities look well prepared for the downturn, both economically (the large surplus makes it possible to mount a massive ‘stimulus package’ and welfare reform) and politically (emphasis on social stability and national unity). The economic ‘disparities’ are systematically ‘managed’ and played down by the leaders who frequently quote the most famous prediction of Deng Xiaoping: ‘Some will get rich, others will follow’. (Note 14) Even if fewer people than expected follow the rich, and – following the economic downturn, some sink back into poverty – the central authorities are unlikely to be blamed. Unlike the Polish communist elites in the 1970s and 80s, the leaders in contemporary China are not seen as failures. Nor are they seen as ‘foreign’. On the contrary, they are seen as defenders of Chinese interests in the situation when the economic downturn, and the hardship it brings, are widely blamed on the West. Thus in contrast to Poland on the eve of Solidarity mobilisation, nationalist passions in China are harnessed by the central authority and used for defusing (or re-directing) resentments. The Chinese elite takes credit for growth, spread of prosperity and international elevation, and avoids the blame for economic woes. It also looks strong and united around the reformist program that stresses social stability as the key condition of prosperity and national strength (‘harmonious society’).

This does not mean, of course, that the Chinese society is especially ‘harmonious’, that public grievances are rare, discontent is low, and that the ‘legitimation formulas’ and propaganda slogans are widely accepted. On the contrary, as mentioned above, the social gaps are quite wide, and they continue to widen, and discontent is widespread. However, they are *relatively* narrow, are controlled and ‘managed’ by elites in the way that defuses social mobilisations of egalitarian resentments, particularly among the ‘strategic’ social strata, and in the way that re-direct public resentments away from central authorities. (Note 15) Opinion polls show resentments against local officials but persisting popularity of the central leadership. The most frequently identified public grievances are against (corrupt) local authorities, and they include restrictions on rural-urban migration, forced land acquisitions, local corruption, restriction on land sales, excessive local tax and levies, penalties, poor health services, environmental pollution and degradation, and compulsory assessments (Lee 2007, Ho 2005, Young 2007:26). The articulations of grievances are local, ‘cellular’, specific and small-scale, resulting in civic (rights) activism. They increasingly move ‘from streets to courts’, prompt legal challenges, and boost local rights activism. Moreover, the authorities react by mixing suppression – directed against organized and large scale protests (Fallun Gong, Tibetan and Xinjiang autonomy) – and accommodation: ‘paying attention’, ‘hearing voices’, responding to ‘constructive criticism’. (Note 16) Democratisation is formally embraced as the national objective, but it is given a specific meaning: it is identified with local elections, judicial independence and fighting corruption through increasing transparency. (Note 17)

Thus the key ‘generative’ conditions of mass protest mobilization seem to be missing. If the theoretical predictions formulated above are correct, public aspirations (prompted by messages from reformist elites) should be shifting in the liberal direction and increase pressures for freedom, opportunity, legalism and rights. Such shifts coincide with the change of emphasis from *material* to *civic* sphere and from *simple equality* to differentiated *equity*. As noted by students of public perceptions, public tolerance for widening and complex hierarchies of income and authority is increasing, together with de-collectivisation of land, privatization of SOEs, and general marketisation of rewards. Collectivistic redistributive egalitarianism seems to be losing its former attractiveness, especially among the urban industrial populations. It tends to be associated with Maoist policies and their failures. This shift is reflected in the official legitimization formulas and elite-promoted nationalism, as well as the officially supported revival of Confucian traditions.

5. Conclusions

Modern egalitarianism, as suggested by Tocqueville and Durkheim, reflects concerns with exclusions, rather than hierarchies, and with equal rights, freedoms and opportunities, rather than income hierarchies and collective entitlements. Unless overwhelmed by revolutionary central-redistributive projects, egalitarian sentiments and aspirations turn libertarian. Public sentiments, especially among the educated urban strata, become individualistic and tolerant of ‘meritocratic’ disparities in income and authority. They shift, in other words, away from the collectivistic redistributive-material egalitarianism, and towards individualistic-liberal egalitarianism, towards aspirations for

individual freedom, opportunity, autonomy and recognition. Such orientations, according to the theorists of modernization, gradually prevail among the urban industrial strata. Most of these strata seem to embrace the reforms and the accompanying wide and complex hierarchies.

Moreover, with progressive industrial modernization, social change is increasingly directed and controlled by state elites. As noted by Weber, this is not only because prosperity and market reforms undermine the egalitarian expectations, but also because modern urban life accustoms people to complex bureaucratic hierarchies. It also increases the salience of national identities. Such identities and sentiments – typically cultivated by political elites – over-ride class identities and solidarities. This means that democratic reforms take the direction of highly national-populist ‘leader democracy’.

This theoretical picture seems increasingly relevant for China. Chinese society undergoes a most rapid industrial modernization combined with urbanization on the unprecedented scale. The rapidly expanding urban strata embrace the reforms as a success, even though the benefits are distributed in an uneven way. As pointed by Lee (2007:8), ‘The vast majority of educated Chinese have been winners as a result of economic reform. For many, political disgruntlement and collective sense of relative deprivation have given way to economic ambitions and upward social mobility facilitated by an ability to effectively navigate China’s integration into the world economy’. These urban strata form ‘an enormous middle’ that comprise nearly half of the population (Young 2007:32). The experience of social mobility, combined with the awareness of China’s economic development, should make this ‘enormous middle’ highly tolerant of inequalities. (Note 18) The rural-agricultural segments, especially when prompted by political leaders, may embrace collectivistic redistributive-material egalitarianism, and vent their resentments (against inequality as well as social discrimination and exclusion) in public protests. However, these segments are impoverished of cultural and political ‘capitals’, and therefore unlikely to be effectively mobilized and challenge the central authorities. Their pent-up grievances and egalitarian resentments may fuel local protests that result in temporary tightening of central control, rather than lasting reforms.

Most importantly, the Chinese political elite looks united around the current leadership (the first one ascending to power through orderly succession) and around the market-reformist program. This program is portrayed as the best developmental path to mass prosperity, widening economic security, as well as China’s increasing international power and prestige. Economic growth and the accompanying prosperity are linked with social stability: they condition each other. The leaders use the highly effective ‘management strategies’ that combine strong social controls, local democratization, commitments to reducing ‘disparities’, and pre-emptive anti-corruption campaigns with appeals to national unity and pride. Such appeals to both economic interests and national sentiments prove very effective in generating mass consent, especially among the growing urban strata.

There are also some other stabilizing factors. The current economic downturn highlights the dangers of the ‘export-led’ strategy of growth and the accompanying imbalances in national accounts (China’s precarious surplus-reserves). Therefore it is anticipated that the next stage of Chinese reforms will stimulate domestic consumption – a move that is likely to be both popular among the urban strata and egalitarian in its impact. There are also some indications that the Chinese elite attempts to defuse widespread public concerns about pollution and environmental degradation – an increasingly significant source of social resentments and tensions. Such strategies of pre-emptive defusing have proven effective and conducive to further elite-directed reforms. Considering the predominantly elite-directed ‘top-down’ pattern of change in the last three decades, this would not be surprising.

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Notes

Note 1. An early version of this paper was presented at RC28 2009 Spring Meeting, School of Sociology and Population Studies, Renmin University, Beijing, China, May 14-16, 2009. I am grateful to Professor Baogang He for his comments and suggestions – incorporated in this version.

Note 2. As noted by Tocqueville, ‘It is not always by going from bad to worse that a society falls into revolution. It happens most often that a people, that has supported without complaint... the most oppressive laws, violently throws them off as soon as their weight is lightened.... Only great genius can save a prince who undertakes to relieve his subjects after a long oppression. The evil, which was suffered patiently as inevitable, seems unendurable as the idea of escaping from it is conceived.’ (1952:186)]

Note 3. Inequalities related to uneven distribution of property were seen by Durkheim (1933) as legitimate, in clear contrast with Marx and Weber, both of whom saw them as reflections of exploitative domination..

Note 4. Durkheim (1963) attributed to property a sacred/religious origin, and he saw the divisions between owners and workers as legitimated by the residues of property’s sacred status. ‘Private property was born because individuals turned to their own advantage, their own use, the respect society inspires’. The legal exclusions that accompanied property rights revealed for Durkheim clear links with taboos and rituals. In Durkheim’s (1963) view, stratification, especially in ownership of land, has always been linked with strong collective identities. These identities are generated and transmitted through social classifications – popular symbolic taxonomies that shape social perceptions and distances, especially between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Durkheim’s studies of ‘primitive classifications’ form a theoretical foundation of the social anthropology of inequality.

Note 5. Durkheim’s second contribution to sociology of inequality concerns the form and the evolution of occupational hierarchies. Social differentiation (the ‘division of labour’) is elevated by Durkheim (1933) to the status of the constitutive process of modernization. It has resulted in the fragmentation of larger social units, such as feudal estates, guilds and classes, and their replacement by hierarchical but socially open occupational strata, groups and associations. Durkheim predicts that relationships between occupational groups is likely to be harmonious, mainly because of the regulation by occupational associations (proto-trade unions) and the state – the key agents of national integration. Occupational strata thus become central elements of increasingly complex but harmonious social stratification. The state and occupational associations manage national integration and cohesion.

Note 6. The prospects of a Soviet intervention were lessened by Brezhnev’s illness (he died in 1982), preoccupation with Afghanistan (invaded one year earlier), and new confrontation with the USA (where Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980). This gave the leaders of the movement an opportunity for a relatively ‘low risk’ national mobilization.

Note 7. For example,. Kelley and Zagorski (2005), Evans and Kelley (2007).

Note 8. Such legitimations, though, do not cover the entire spectrum of inequality; poverty is widely condemned as illegitimate, as well as privileges of top businessmen and officials. However, the major public outrage has always been directed against ‘illicit’ privilege and ascriptive exclusion – both correctly regarded as corrosive of social order.

Note 9. See, for example, the *Human Development Report 2006*, Davies 2006, Young 2007, Xubei and Nong 2009. It must be remembered, though, that the land contract system, which gives a minimal level of security in using land, distorts the comparative statistics on ‘assets’ and ‘net worth inequality’.

Note 10. See Kelley and Evans (2009), esp. Table 4.6.

Note 11. As pointed out by Martin Whyte, the 2004 national representative survey of popular attitudes in China indicates that the disadvantaged people in the rural/remote areas are not particularly concerned by the rising inequality. The author suggests that they trust the ‘Deng’s promise’ of forthcoming prosperity ‘for all’.

Note 12. As noted by Young (2007:22), the number of ‘mass incidents’ of local unrest were growing steadily between 2003 and 2005, but they declined (or were under-reported) in recent years.

Note 13. The currently booming urban areas are vulnerable to a sudden burst of the real-estate bubble. Also the shaky public banks may experience difficulties. That may trigger some urban unrest.

Note 14. The measures that are most frequently mentioned include the new cooperative medical insurance, reduction of school fees, basic income scheme, rural investment (especially the Western Development Strategy), ‘fees to taxes’ reform, end of illegal land seizures, and the agricultural loan scheme (Young 2007:25-6)

Note 15. See, for example, Young (2007). Many commentators list gender and regional aspects of inequalities as socially ‘under-registered’, as not attracting the level of attention expected on the basis of their absolute and relative size.

Note 16. See He 2006, Lee 2007, Young 2007. One should also note the impact of some specifically Chinese cultural ‘stabilisers’ of the social and political order. The current reformist stage of Chinese industrial modernization is steeped in Confucian traditions. These traditions carry respect for authority and hierarchy, but also in sensitivity to ‘illicit privilege’ and corruption – both capable of undermining the authority of the officialdom, but only when seen as morally tainted. This makes ‘corruption’ and ‘abuse’ very sensitive issues, but also opens the way of defusing public resentments through officially sanctioned local anti-corruption campaigns.

Note 17. This was the interpretation offered by Premier Wen in 2006, as reported in Thornton (2008:4).

Note 18. This regularity has been explored by Kelly and Kelly (2009).



The Psychological Journey of “I” in “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening”

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Abstract

Robert Frost's poems are full of psychological ideas, which serve as a kind of perfection against losing oneself for the chaotic modern man. Freudian theory of the id, the ego and the superego is employed to analyze the psychological journey of “I” in his “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening”, which helps to understand its themes and Frost's composing purposes.

Keywords: Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening, Freudian theory, I, Psychological journey

1. Introduction

Robert Frost (1874-1963) was one of the most famous American poets in the 20th century. He won the Pulitzer Prize four times and received honors from forty-four institutions, and became the nation's unofficial Poet Laureate when invited to read his poem at President Kennedy's inauguration in 1961.^{2P267}

For Frost, “nature appears as an expicator and a mediator for man and serves as the center of the reference of his behavior and it stands as a kind of perfection against confusion”^{2P268}. “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” was written in 1923 by Robert Frost with simple but beautiful poetic lines. The air of this poem is attractive, peaceful and harmonious. The natural beauty described in this poem is charming, and yet, by appreciating the natural beauty, readers can taste the arts of this poem and get its philosophic idea to help them in their life journey. Scholars inside and outside of our country have explained this poem mostly from the angles of stylistics and linguistics. This paper will employ Freudian theory of the id, the ego and the superego to analyze the psychological journey of “I” in this poem, which helps to understand its themes and Frost's composing purposes.

The following goes this poem:

Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening

By Robert Frost

Whose woods these are I think I know.

His house is in the village though;

He will not see me stopping here

To watch his woods fill up with snow.

My little horse must think it queer

To stop without a farmhouse near

Between the woods and frozen lake

The darkest evening of the year.

He hives his harness bells a shake

To ask if there is some mistake.

The only other sound's the sweep
 Of easy wind and downy flake.
 The woods are lovely, dark and deep.
 But I have promises to keep,
 And miles to go before I sleep,
 And miles to go before I sleep. (Dong, P51)

2. Freudian Theory of the Id, the Ego and the Superego

Freud assigns the mental processes to three psychic zones: the id, the ego, and the superego. The id is irrational, the source of all aggressions and desires. It has dangerous potentialities. So it is necessary that other psychic agencies protect the individual and society. The first of these regulating agencies, that which protects the individual, is the ego. This is the rational governing agent of the psyche. As Freud points out, "In popular language, we may say that the ego stands for reason and circumspection, while the id stands for the untamed passions." Whereas the id is governed solely by the pleasure principle, the ego is governed by the reality principle. Consequently, the ego serves as intermediary between the world within and the world without. The superego is the moral censoring agency, the repository of conscience and pride. It is the anatomy of the mental personality, the representative of all moral restrictions, the advocate of the impulse toward perfection, in short it is as much as we have been able to apprehend psychologically of what people call the "higher" things in human life. It is dominated by the morality principle. We might say that the id would make us devils, that the superego would have us behave as angels, and that it remains for the ego to keep us healthy human beings by maintaining a balance between these two opposing forces.^{3P130-131} In the poem "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" by Robert Frost, there is a character "I", whose psychological journey just reflects Freud's theory of the id, the ego and the superego.

3. The Character "I"

In this poem, the character "I" alone passes the woods on a snowy evening and stops to enjoy the beautiful and peaceful snowy scene but after a short-time relaxation in the snow, he has to hurry on with his journey to keep his promises and fulfill his tasks. "I" imposes his ideas on his horse but his horse could not understand why he stops in "the darkest evening of the year" and "between the woods and frozen lake" by hiring its harness bells a shake. At that moment, the character "I" is entangled in two ideas: one is that he likes the natural beauty and desires to enjoy it; the other is that he clearly remembers his responsibilities on his shoulders and his promises to keep.

This small contradictory actually stands for a bigger one of human's life. On one hand, the character "I", impossibly and sagacious, hopes to be drunk with the natural beauty. On the other hand, "I", with a sense of responsibility, knows that he has many heavier tasks and responsibilities to shoulder and he must keep his promises. In our life, it is common for us to make choices, and yet, usually, we can only choose one of them in the end, although in the process of making decisions, we may hesitate and reconsider them many times. However, when we take a back look, we may regret not to choose others and guess what will happen if we take another one. Everybody hopes the past time can return and everything can happen again, which is complicated but common experience and just caught by Robert Frost. This may be one of the most important reasons for his composing this famous poem, which offers us not only a charming world but also a way against losing ourselves in facing allure in the modern world.

4. The Psychological Journey of "I"

In the first line of this poem, there is an image "woods", which usually stand for desolation, wildness, darkness, irrationality or dimness. However, the "woods" in this poem are not desolate but belong to somebody--- "his house is in the village". In "the darkest evening of the year", the owner of the woods stays in the village as all other wise people often do. Here, "the village", which can stand for civilization, light, rationality, responsibility, or our society, and the "woods", which mean wildness, darkness, irrationality, or the outside world of our society, form two different worlds. The "woods" are close to "the village", our civilized society, and they are so attractive that "I" couldn't help stopping to enjoy them. The "woods" are not only attractive but also peaceful and quiet, because in addition to his horse's harness bells, "the only other sound's the sweep of easy wind and downy flake". In the second and the third stanzas, "the woods", "easy wind", and "downy flake" (snow), not only represent the freedom of nature but also symbolize a world without control and forbiddance, in which human is as free and leisure as the easy wind. Therefore, in such a world, "the woods" must be "lovely, dark and deep" for the lonely character "I" instead of being desolate, wild, and terrible, although in "the darkest evening of the year" and near a "frozen lake".

Undoubtedly, the woods are a kind of seduction for the character "I". They might be dangerous and stand for all kinds of allure in the world. Facing them, any individual's mind might be disturbed temporarily. Therefore, facing the attractive and peaceful scene, the lonely id of "I" is lured by the air of harmony and peacefulness. He really desires to stop and enjoy it. However, in the last stanza, "I" realizes that "I have promises to keep, and miles to go before I sleep,

and miles to go before I sleep". Here, the last "sleep" is a metaphor, which can symbolize the death and suggest that "I" still has many tasks or responsibilities to shoulder before the end of his life. The last two repeated lines lead this poem to its climax. The social morality principle requires him to keep his promises and being a person with a sense of responsibility. The superego of "I" asks him to stop enjoying the woods and go on keeping promises and fulfilling his tasks on his shoulders. At this time, the superego and the id of the character "I" are opposite. The character "I" has to make his final decision. From the poem, we can clearly see his psychological conflict through his horse. His horse is "queer" when he stops "without a farmhouse near" but "between the woods and frozen lake" in "the darkest evening of the year". The horse questions why he does not hurry on with his life journey but stop by woods on this snowy evening as most human beings do. Accordingly, it stands for the civilized society because the horse is domesticated by human civilization. The horse's blaming stands for the blaming given by the civilized society, though it is only the imagination of the character "I". The imagination of "I" just reflects his psychological conflict and he must quickly make his decision to end this conflict. Only in this way can he balance his inner world.

The ego keeps us healthy human beings by maintaining a balance between the two opposing forces: the id and the superego, and it is governed by the reality principle. The reality allows the character "I" to have a short-time rest and so he stops by the woods for a while on the snowy evening and then continues his life journey. The reality will not permit him to spend all his time in longing for the natural beauty at all costs, because if he throws away his sense of responsibility, to some extent, he may be dead, since realizing value is the most important thing in the whole life. The reality asks that he must hurry on with his life journey to shoulder all his responsibilities, fulfill all his tasks and keep all his promises. Therefore, the last line "And miles to go before I sleep" suggests that he stops by woods only a short time and then hurry on with his life journey. That is to say, finally, the ego of "I" balances both the id and the superego. The id, the ego and the superego of "I" work harmoniously together.

5. Conclusion

"Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" is a poem full of the air of harmony and beauty. No wonder, there is a literal interpretation about it, which can be that "it represents a moment of relaxation from the onerous journey of life, an almost aesthetic enjoyment and appreciation of natural beauty which is wholesome and restorative against the chaotic existence of modern man"^{2P268}. The poetic imaginary is really beautiful. However, the poem has not only the beautiful artistic conception but also deep and helpful philosophical ideas or the themes, that is, the realization of value is the most important thing in our life and everybody should shoulder his responsibilities and hurry on with his life journey instead of only enjoying the life at all costs. The psychological journey of "I" in this poem just reflects the psychological conflict of modern people between shouldering their responsibilities and enjoying the natural beauty and helps them against losing themselves in facing kinds of allure. This is just one of Robert Frost's intentions of composing this poem.

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Promotion of Rural Financial Innovation and Resolution of Agricultural Financing Difficulties

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Abstract

Difficult agricultural financing has become the primary bottleneck in agricultural development and rural economic development in China. For instance, serious loss of rural funds, which cannot form a virtuous circle; monotonous products of agricultural financing and unitary agricultural financing channels; inadequate optimization of rural financial ecology, etc. Positive promotion of rural financial innovation is the key to resolving agricultural financing difficulties and promoting rapid development of rural economy. Rural financial innovation has extremely significant strategic meaning.

Keywords: Agricultural financing, Financing innovation, Rural economic development

“Financial innovation” refers to establishment of “new production functions” within a financial field, and it is a combination of various financial factors and is a market reform formed for the pursuit of profits. It generally refers to a series of new things emerging in the financial system and financial market, including new financial tools, new financing methods, new financial market, new payment and settlement means and new financial organization methods and management methods, etc. Developmental history of the entire financial industry is a history of continual innovation. (Chen Daisun & Li Yining <<Theoretical History of International Finance>>).

As the core of modern rural economy, rural finance in China lags behind, and has become the primary bottleneck in current agricultural development and rural economic development. Compared with developed countries, there still exist the following problems in Chinese rural finance, such as low level of financial service, inadequate capacity of rural financial innovation, insufficient business varieties, unitary service means, lagging settlement means, and difficult financing, which together result in difficulties in satisfying demands of diversified financial service.

It is estimated from relationship between finance and economic growth, annual incremental demand on rural finance from 2009 to 2015 will be 900 billion to 1700 billion Yuan, among which 300 billion to 500 billion Yuan cannot be satisfied. If financial innovation is not conducted on a large scale and financial supply is not increased, then the gap between supply and demand will continue to be enlarged, and will reach 5400 billion Yuan by the year 2010.

It can be seen, rural financial innovation has an extremely significant strategical meaning to establish modernized rural financial system, promote rural reform and development, carry out various policies favorable for farmers, and promote modernized agricultural development in a positive way.

1. Difficulties of agricultural financing in China

1.1 Serious loss of rural funds and impossibility to form a virtuous circle

In China, rural finance has been faced up with the difficulty of serious “blood loss”. Firstly, Chinese peasants deposit a large majority of income for savings. Thus, most of rural funds flow to postal savings, various commercial banks and rural credit cooperatives. Secondly, due to weak ability of peasants to resist natural disasters, high risk and unstable

income, etc, and due to profitability of capitals on the part of Commercial Bank, they successively weaken rural market and diminish affiliated agencies. Several large commercial banks transfer most of their funds to cities, and seldom offer loans in rural areas. Postal savings have always been playing the role of “life pump” in rural finance and they “merely save but not offer loans”. As a result, bank deposit of rural households is transferred and flow out of rural areas by commercial banks. Thirdly, rural credit cooperatives with high rate of non-performing assets also provide limited credit support to peasants. Due to historical burden, they are reluctant to assume any risk, so they use a large majority of their funds to purchase national debts and financial bonds, or offer a loan to township private industry and commerce.

Due to existence of the profit-driven nature of funds, financial resources are transferred in a steady flow from rural areas to urban areas, from poverty-stricken areas to developed areas, and from agriculture to non-agriculture, which result in the financial “blankness” in Chinese rural areas. In a consequence, it is difficult to bring in advanced technology, regulate agricultural industrial structure, and develop agricultural investment with high value added, which result in inadequate investment strength in agricultural infrastructure construction and seriously affect sustainable development of agriculture.

1.2 Monotonous agricultural financing products, unitary agricultural financing channels, and serious restraint on agricultural development

Increasingly complicated rural household's economic structure, income structure, and continually upgraded agricultural structure and rural industrial structure exhibit diversified and complicated financial demands, and form different demand levels, which requires diversification of financial agencies and financial activities to satisfy such demands and to provide various financial service products. However, distempered rural financing mechanism, narrow financing channel and small rate of direct financing are caused by the following two reasons. On one hand, lack of stock rights financing channel; on the other hand, unitary debt financing channels. Chinese bond market has always been lagging behind, and furthermore, rural corporate bond is still in a virgin state, so most rural medium and small enterprises have to accumulate financing by informal financial means.

1.3 Inadequate optimization of rural financing ecology

Bad rural financial and ecological environment is due to the following problems: weakness and chronicity of agricultural industry, weakness of rural credit foundation, instability of rural financial consciousness and credit consciousness, and lack of rural credit guarantee mechanism, insurance and credit rating system, agricultural legislation.

Rural legal construction lags behind, legal regulations to standardize and protect rural finance is not complete, and there lacks perspectiveness of legal construction for reflow mechanism of rural funds. Corresponding stimulation policies and regulations are lacking for rural financial innovation. Furthermore, agricultural insurance legislation is seriously underdeveloped, and there lacks the law of agricultural disaster indemnity.

A standardized and unified management system cannot be formed for rural credit rating system. For instance, in implementation of micro-credit in rural areas, generally rural households should be rated and then are offered corresponding line of credit. However, this sort of rating system is effective in a small scope, but cannot form a universal and standardized management system.

Rural credit value chain is far from being complete. There are not adequate guarantors, the scale of guarantee is small, guaranteed scope and targets are relatively narrow, and there lack legal standards and effective supervision on guarantors.

Intelligent support in financial innovation is inadequate, and compound financial talents are lacking, including talents in research and development of financial innovation, talents in marketing of new products, and especially compound talents proficient in new financial theories, and practical operation experiences, and with integration of research and practice. All the above restrict rural financial innovation and application and financial tools.

2. Study on agricultural financial innovation

2.1 Rural economic and industrial development is always regarded as the breakthrough and foothold in innovation of rural financial tools

Financial innovation is the external motive for reform and development of financial industry. With rapid development of rural economy, rural development and prosperity of peasants are more dependent on driving of the industrialization of agriculture, and demand of funds for the industrialization of agriculture is on the increase year by year. Therefore, rural financial agencies should cater to changes of the situation, insist on market orientation, and continue to satisfy diversified financial requirements in increasing growth of rural economy and society based on demands and through adapting to rural economic development and financial innovation of industrial development.

2.2 Acceleration to develop new types of rural financial organizations with various forms

Financial demands of current Chinese rural areas are classified into multiple levels, and various financial demands require a diversified financial organization to offer support.

On the precondition of strengthening supervision and preventing risks, we should continue to broaden market access and cultivate rural financial market with appropriate competition. New types of rural financial agencies should be developed vigorously, such as, micro credit organizations, village and township banks, credit subsidiaries, and rural mutual cooperatives, etc. Those farmers' professional cooperatives with preferable conditions should open credit cooperatives, and those farmers' professional cooperatives in line with supportive conditions should be offered such credit service as united insurance and mutual insurance, etc. "Regulations on lenders" should be formulated as soon as possible, which has significant meaning to standardization of nongovernmental credit and vitalization of rural economy. Zheng Fengtian, Assistant Dean of School of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development of Renmin University of China, pointed out, with attack of deceleration of global economy on Chinese rural development, contradiction of supply falling short of demand in agricultural development capital becomes prominent day by day, and legalization of rural nongovernmental credit will be popular among common farmers in urgent need of microcredit financing, which will be the breakthrough for standardizing and leading rural nongovernmental financing.

2.3 To encourage and support financial agencies to innovate rural financial products and financial service

With deepening of socialist new countryside construction, the coverage of demand by rural economic development on capitals becomes more extensive, the industrialization of agriculture calls for rapid expansion of rural financial service demand, and demand of rural economy on financial products and service becomes more and more. Multiple levels and individualization of financial demands determine diversification and differentiation of rural financial products and service. In the past few years, financial agencies have conducted innovation of different sorts of credit products in the process of offering service in the whole country, such as, the convenient innovative products of "fast credit", overdraft, revolving credit of working capital, standby facility, domestic credit operation, and electronic bill loan, etc. And also secured innovative products, such as, household's bonding company credit, village credit guarantee committee, united guarantee credit of agriculture and enterprise, rural pledge loans of the right to derive benefit from land, petty sum soft loan of forest ownership, and agricultural support loan of "company-base-household", etc. As for rural poverty population and low-income groups, policy-support financial services are the primary choice, such as, help-the-poor discount-interest loan, petty sum help-the-poor discount-interest loan through "rewards in place of subsidies", and household petty sum credit, household loan to help the industry aimed at non-agricultural industries, private business and farmer enterprises, "rural grand time" loan, start-up loan for rural youth, and start-up loan for farmers losing land.

Financial agencies should also continue to innovate financial and governmental petty sum credit loan and loan to groups, etc, form a variety of credit product portfolio, and promote agricultural production increase, farmer income increase and rural economic development in a comprehensive way.

In May 2007, Ji County and State Development Bank deepened cooperation, probed into new modes of credit funds supporting county economic development, and tested on "financial and governmental petty sum credit loan" in Yinliu Town of Ji County. Ji County established government financing service platform --- development financial and governmental cooperative office of Ji County. A financial and governmental cooperative mechanism of "3+2+1" was established, and financial and governmental cooperative agencies covered the whole county and its towns and villages. In order to resist loan risks, Ji County Government and Sinosafe Insurance Company further probed into a new mode of financial and governmental cooperation and combined together traditional agricultural insurance with loan liability insurance. Loan credit insurance is a sort of innovation. On one hand, such financial and governmental cooperative mechanism ensured security of 40 million Yuan for the government to secure capital, and it used limited funds secured to trigger more financial funds. Meanwhile, it could reduce risks of difficult loan repayment for loan households due to natural disasters and man-made calamities. On the other hand, through transfer of the right of recovery, it realized marketization of governmental behavior and strengthened guarantee of debt repayment. According to their own practice, Ji County explored petty moan mode of financial and governmental cooperation, resolved difficulties of farmers' financing and stimulated farmers' enthusiasm in starting up an undertaking.

2.4 Perfection of agricultural investment and financing guarantee mechanism and optimization of agricultural financing environment

Effective implementation of the above measures is dependent on perfection of various supporting measures and external financial environment. Financial agencies should strengthen their communication with the government, coordinate the government to issue relevant policies and then provide a broad prospect for sustainable development of rural financial innovation. For example, they can promote innovation of rural financial products by resorting to the government in their positive role in fiscal subsidy, tax relief, establishment of farmers' credit risk compensation system, cultivating factor market and establishment of rural financial ecological construction.

Sound laws and regulations are important guarantee to strengthen rural financing attraction, because they can provide perfect guarantee mechanism for rural financing. In order to establish and perfect rural financial agency access and withdrawal system, establish multi-level and diversified financial products and tools to innovate policy support system, and to promote business cooperation and financial innovation of rural financial agencies, we have to formulate agricultural financing regulations, abide by laws and regulations, and bring the financial support system for new countryside construction into a legal track.

Meanwhile, we should vigorously establish and develop county intermediaries for guarantee, evaluation and notarization, etc. Establishment of county and village credit systems should be positively promoted, rural insurance development should be accelerated and credit risks for supporting agriculture should be diffused. Various forms of media should be made full use of to extensively propagandize credit, and typical examples can be used to advocate credit, punish loss of credit, and build an atmosphere of credit. Rural financial environment should be optimized.

In 2009 when credit is nervous, World Bank will establish “agricultural financing support fund” with the donation of \$20 million from Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The fund will support donations offered by banking and nonbanking institutions to enlarge rural financing service in developing countries, such as, savings, payment and insurance, and will regard them as profit service. Renate Kloeppinger-Todd, the rural financing consultant of World Bank, says, “We should guarantee to obtain financing service by a sustainable means to alleviate poverty,” and “the fund will enable financial agencies to provide new opportunities for small peasant households, so that they can conduct new investment to improve their productivity and can utilize new technology and service.” World Bank has provided support for many countries to improve the environment for development of their financial departments. It has also directly offered rural financial investment. In the fiscal year 2008, World Bank made a promise of \$613 million to 28 rural financial projects. Support of World Bank has provided vigorous guarantee for financial innovation in developing countries.

At present, international market disruption is being aggravated, global economic growth is obviously slowing down, and there are too many indefinite and unstable factors in international economic environment. Only innovation can motivate rural development. Positive promotion of rural financial innovation is the key to resolving rural financing difficulties and promoting rapid development of rural economy.

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Technology Leadership among School Principals: A Technology-Coordinator's Perspective

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Abstract

This paper describes how the principal's leadership impeded the process of technology-integration in an elementary school through the viewpoints of the technology-coordinator. First of all, the principal did not have a vision of technology integration for school education. Neither did he make a commitment on technology integration. Second, the principal did not take up the responsibility for managing resources for technology implementation. Neither did he show support for the technology coordinator as regards coping with administrative conflicts. Finally, the principal did not empower the technology coordinator for technology integration. All of these frustrated the technology coordinator and hindered the effective implementation of school-wide technology integration.

Keywords: Technology-leadership, Technology-integration

1. Introduction

Technology serves teaching and learning best when educators have clear goals. Educators must teach students the skills and ways of thinking needed for success in the technology-rich workplace of tomorrow. Educators are encouraged to take advantage of the potential of technology to help students to meet the new expectations of society. Proponents believe technology can transform school learning and teaching by helping students to use their minds profoundly through creative and critical thinking. Unfortunately, this significant transformation in school education has not met initial expectations (Dawson & Rakes, 2003; Staples, Pugach, & Himes, 2005). Creighton (2003, p. 2) pointed out that, "even the best of schools have barely tapped the potential of technology to radically impact teaching and learning." One overlooked problem is the effect of technology leadership by principals on technology integration (Holland, 2000). This case study examines the important role the principal played in implementing technology in a school at Taiwan.

2. Method

This paper addressed the practice of the principal's leadership through the stories of the technology coordinator who took up the responsibility for implementing school-wide technology integration. The use of the story-telling method was because story-telling revealed how individuals related themselves and their performance to the power systems and culture within which they worked and lived (Carter, 1993; Linde, 1993; Riessman, 1993; Seidman, 2006). Interview data, as a major means of self-presentation projecting part of real-life, is quite robust for life-story research (Linde, 1993). Hence, the researcher used the interview technique to collect data for this study.

2.1 Data Analysis

There is no standard set of procedures for narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993). The product of narrative analysis is partial, alternative truth. This is because transforming talk into written text involves selection and reduction. The aim of narrative analysis is believability and enlargement of understanding. Therefore, Riessman emphasizes the trustworthiness of the interpretations as the critical issue in narrative analysis. One way of helping others to determine the trustworthiness of a narrative study is to make visible what the researcher did and to describe how the interpretations were produced. Thus, the following is a description of what the researcher did and how the interpretations were produced.

First, the researcher chunked all the digital audio interviews into units of discourse and conducted open-coding. Then, the researcher wrote the stories based on the interview transcripts. Since in the stories, all indicated the principal's behaviors had an impact on the technology coordinator along with the implementation of technology integration, the theme of the principal's leadership emerged. The researcher then identified the practice of the principal's leadership that impeded the processes of technology integration in this school.

3. The Case

The analyzed school was located in a sub-urban community in which the socioeconomic status of the residents is low or middle. The analyzed school was considered disadvantaged in technology implementation in comparison with the well-financed schools in metropolitan areas. This school received minimal funds/grants from local governments or organizations. The technology coordinator recalled, "Back in the early of 1990s, the government started many technology policies, and lots of money was given to schools in metropolitan areas. But schools like ours received nothing. None of the schools in our area was funded. Thus, there was no computer classroom in any schools in our area."

The technology coordinator attempted to narrow the digital divide between students of this school and those of metropolitan schools because he did not want their students left behind at the very first beginning. He volunteered to provide teachers with technology skills training for several years. Those who participated in his training later became major human capital for implementing technology-integration. With no administrative support, the technology coordinator established the first government-funded computer classroom in that area in the school year of 1997. The coordinator said, "In the school year of 1997, we had our first computer classroom, the first government-funded one in our area. As a matter of fact, that computer classroom was funded because some of the colleagues and I visited a significant person who was a good friend of the mayor. We did it because we felt we were ready, and it's time for our school to have a computer classroom. ***All of this had been done without any involvement of the principal.*** Since then, we started applying for grants and received funds every year."

The technology coordinator and his team actively applied for any possible grants that allowed them to purchase hardware and software for the school. The outstanding performance of his team helped the school win several awards. The school received government grants for Technology-Integration Seed Schools for three consecutive years for beginning, advanced and model-level programs. This success further encouraged the coordinator and his team. However, two major conflicts arose. One was resource management. Due to the insufficient equipment, the coordinator insisted that the team members have the privilege to use the equipment first since they were applying for the grants. He also insisted that the funds should not be used for other purposes. His insistence caused conflicts between he and other administrators, which he was frustrated. The coordinator said, "That bothered me most. Administrators at elementary schools always think that all grants received belong to the school. They have the right to decide how to use the money. I don't think so. To me, it's the team members who have been fighting for the grants. They are the ones needed to be take care of first. The disagreement resulted in administrative conflict. Some complained, 'Only the team has the right to use the equipment.' Such administrative conflict hindered the implementation of technology integration in our school. For example, I gave up applying for government grants just because I was afraid that the new grant would cause more administrative conflicts."

In addition to the resource management, the responsibilities of the technology coordinator were another key issue. The success of the team made the school well-known, so the coordinator established a good reputation. He received many titles in the professional communities outside of the school. It's a glory to him. But it also meant that he had to spend much time on professional activities outside the school and spent less time on school activities. Some administrators also believed that the technology coordinator should be responsible for designing and maintaining websites for all units in school. Whenever a website was needed for school evaluation, it was considered the responsibility of the technology coordinator. However, the technology coordinator did not agree. He complained, "Of course, we need to collaborate with others. Like B, when she was in the position of administration, she created websites for her unit. She asked me for help if she encountered problems,. It's OK. But, some administrators believe that it's the job of the technology coordinator to create websites for all. I cannot believe it. My job is not to design websites for others. It's impossible for me to create websites for others at the cost of my own business. I don't have time for that. But when I said I couldn't, there came the rumor: "He is too busy in out-of-school activities to do his school job. Then, more and more rumors occurred. All of this cracked down on the morale of our team. They didn't want to be the target just because of what they did. So, I finally quit almost all of my positions outside the school."

The coordinator was so frustrated that he and his team became less active in technology integration. They felt too tired to fight. The coordinator believed that the lack of strong leadership was the major obstacle to effective technology integration. He emphasized, "It is because of the lack of strong leadership supporting us. As mentioned above, the first computer classroom was a collaborative effort by some team members. The principal plays no role and has never been involved from the very beginning till now. Although we have established a reputation regarding technology integration, we would do better if we never had those administrative conflicts."

4. Discussion

Technology leadership is more important for effective technology-integration than technology infrastructure (Anderson & Dexter, 2005). Meaningful technology-integration is far more complicated than just purchasing hardware and software. Technology-integration cannot succeed in the absence of effective technology leadership by the principal. Leadership by the principal is essential for effective technology integration (Anderson & Dexter, 2005; Bailey, 1997; Chang & Wu, 2008; ChanLin, Hong, Horng, Chang, & Chu, 2006; Creighton, 2003; Gosmire & Grady, 2007; Gurr, Drysdale, & Mulford, 2006; Hew & Brush, 2007; Holland, 2000; Honey, Culp, & Carrigg, 2000; Murray, 2004; Sandholtz, Ringstaff, & Dwyer, 1997; Sharp, 1998). Sharp (1998, p.75) observed, "No matter how dedicated teachers may be and how convinced they may be about the benefits of technology in the classroom, they will not be able to accomplish much if they do not have the support--both financial and moral--from their principals." The case described above corresponds to Sharp's statement.

4.1 Lack of Vision and Commitment

The aforementioned case reveals that the lack of vision and commitment by the principle is a key negative influence on implementing technology integration. Innovations cannot be successful without people who commit themselves with enthusiasm and self-motivation to the new ideas (Gemunden, Salomo, & Hulzle, 2007). However, this case demonstrates that even highly motivated teachers with enthusiasm for technology integration can be defeated by the lack of commitment by the principle. Although the technology coordinator and his team assumed responsibility for technology integration and established a reputation for the school, the principal showed no interest in what they accomplished. Nor did the principal give recognition to what the team had done. This made the coordinator feel like a soldier fighting alone in the battlefield. He was discouraged and frustrated. This outcome shows the importance of the principal in implementing technology integration. ChanLin et al. (2006) argued that principles who were open to and supportive of technology encouraged teachers to take the initiative to integrate technology. Principals need not be tech-savvy, but they must show interest in what teachers are learning/teaching with technology (Creighton, 2003; Dawson & Rakes, 2003; Sandholtz et al., 1997). By showing interest and vision, principals can boost the morale of teachers regarding technology-integration, and *vice versa*.

4.2 Lack of Resource Management

If the principal had a clear technology vision and a practical technology plan for his leadership, the administrative conflict on the budget and the responsibility of the technology coordinator would not damage the interpersonal relationship. Clearly, the vision of technology-integration was not that of the principal, nor was it a shared vision of school administrators. The vision was shared only by the technology coordinator and his team. Hence, institutionalizing technology-integration was difficult. Furthermore, no practical technology plan was developed. Stakeholders were not involved in the budget decision-making process. Doubtlessly, budget issues caused interpersonal conflicts between the coordinator and other administrators. A practical technology plan can prevent the budget issue from interpersonal conflict because it can be the key reference for how the budget should be spent instead of arguing who has the right to make the decision. This case reveals that technology implementation can be hindered if the principal did not take up the responsibility for managing resources effectively. This finding is consistent with the literature. The key to effective technology integration lies in the ability of the principal to lead and guide their technology coordinators and other staff members by communicating the importance and the power of technology in education (Murray, 2004). Principals play a key role in resource management (ChanLin et al., 2006; Dawson & Rakes, 2003; Fullan, 2007). They should not allow budget constraints to prevent the use of technology by teachers. They should wisely spend technology funding and actively pursue the use of technology by employing creative thinking and innovative partnerships to overcome resource shortages.

4.3 Lack of Empowerment Leadership

Finally, the principal in this case failed to foster potential technology leaders. Current leadership literature emphasizes the importance of fostering potential leaders for effective leadership (Bailey, 1997; Bennis, 2002; Kotter, 1998; McGee-Cooper & Trammell, 2002). Effective technology integration requires a team approach. A principal must foster potential technology leaders through empowerment (ChanLin et al., 2006; Dawson & Rakes, 2003; Gemunden et al., 2007; Staples et al., 2005). Unfortunately, the principal failed to do so even though the coordinator and his team showed great potential to become technology leaders. The team won many awards for the school regarding technology-integration because of their outstanding performance. The many roles of the technology coordinator outside the school indicated that his ability was acknowledged by the professional communities. However, he did not feel empowered in the school. On the contrary, he felt isolated. The principal did not help the coordinator to balance his school responsibilities with those of the professional communities. A clear job description for the position of technology coordinator would help both the coordinator and other administrators to clarify the responsibility of the technology coordinator. The coordinator would be less likely to feel overloaded, mistreated or misunderstood. The team would not feel that they were the target of complaints by others.

5. Conclusion

Previous literature has focused on teachers' practice of effective technology-integration. The findings of this case study pinpoint the impact of leadership by principals on technology-integration in schools. The lack of commitment and strong technology leadership by the principal negatively influences technology-integration. The lack of support and recognition from the principal in this case negatively affected the morale of the technology coordinator and his outstanding team, who were highly motivated regarding technology-integration. The coordinator and his team could not become effective change agents in the school because of the lack of the principal's empowerment. The budget and job responsibilities issues cased the problems of interpersonal relationships, which frustrated the coordinator and reduced his potential to become an effective technology leader. Thus, future research should explore more cases regarding how leadership by school principals affects technology integration. Moreover, further research need to investigate the professional development components needed for principals to become effective technology leaders.

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Innovational Analysis in the Knowledge-based Economy in Northwest Minority Region ---- Demand & Supply Analysis of Innovation

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Abstract

With the contest of globalization and knowledge economy, the knowledge and innovation function become more and more important and obvious. The regional innovation capability is becoming a decisive factor in the local areas' economic growth. Northwest minority region, as an underdeveloped area in China, the innovation capability research has been aroused by the government and academe. My aim is to highlight the impact of regional innovation on Northwest region, especially on the minorities. Based on the framework of innovational demand and supply heuristic analysis through the contrast between these areas and developed areas with regard to regional policy and regulations this paper discuss the reasons of backwardness of technological innovation in the northwest minorities region. Finally, the paper presents the results of my research and conclusion to authorities to tackle regional development problems.

Keywords: Knowledge-based economy, Northwest minority region, Innovation

1. Introduction

As the under-developed regions in China, the Northwest Minority Region is really far to the knowledge economy, but this does not mean that it may place itself beyond consideration. In the time of knowledge economy, the technical factor of the economic growth obtains the unprecedented approval and attentions. Disparity between the developed regions with knowledge, skills, intelligence and the thought and the regions with the possessions of traditional resources has been further consolidated and enlarged. This point clearly appears in the comparison of economic data between the Northwest Minority regions and developed regions.

Insert Table 1 Here

We may see from table 1 that although the Northwest Minority region had a certain growth in the past 20 years, it still lag far behind compared to that of national level especially to developed region like Guangdong province. In 1978 the GDP per person between the Northwest Minority regions and Guangdong province was almost the same; it is 1266 Yuan in 1991, 6902 Yuan in 1998, and 13254Yuan in 2002. Under background of the knowledge-based economy, the Northwest Minority regions presently, depending on the advantages of traditional natural resource for economic development, have been selling the raw materials and primary processed products to developed regions, besides, the comparison labor productivity and rate of return of the upstream industry in NW regions is lagging behind that of the downstream industry in developed regions. Insufficiency of the technological factor in industry has caused great disparity to the eastern-developed regions.

The technical innovation is the foundation of the knowledge-based economy, in the contest of globalization, the technical innovation ability of any country becomes the key point of competitive power of the national innovation in the

long run. Therefore, the analysis the assessment of the technical innovation ability in Northwest Minority regions as well as discussing the institutional factor behind it is significantly important. It not only relates to the economic development in minority regions and help making the minorities richer, but also relates to stability of the frontiers, unity of the nationalities, as well as the achievements of the harmonious society.

2. Literature reviews

The research of this paper fills into the realm of the regional innovation. The regional innovation is important classification of the national innovation system. From the collected foreign literatures, it is clear that the research of regional innovation mainly contains the followings: 1, analysis of the regional innovation capability: To establish the degree of innovation capacity through quantitative analysis and contrast represented by the variety of innovative results, and to augment the regional innovation capacity through optimized innovation organizational structure, such as empirical research of Lawson and Lorens (1999) regarding Polis and the Cambridge regions. 2, the regional innovation towards regional development: the main stress regional innovation's contribution to regional economic development, the regional competitive power of economy as well as the aggregate competitive power in regions. 3, relationship between regional innovation and environment: Mr. Malat (1998) and Mr.Damanpour and Copalakrishnan (1998) have studied the influence of the government regional policy, the social environment as well as the environmental variation to the region innovation. 4, the group research of the regional innovation: Mr. Kruqman, Harrison, Meijboom ect have discussed theoretically the reason of the appearance of regional innovation groups as well as the regional characteristics and proposed that participation in the competition was the main reason of the appearance of the high-tech enterprise groups. However the enterprise with small scales, high degree of specialization and flexibility focuses on the concentrations of high-innovations.

Nowadays, some scholars have also paid attention on the regional capability in China, such as the research of regional science and technology competitive power made by the Chinese science and technology developmental strategy group in 1999 and the introduction of systematical theory of the regional innovation contributed by Mr. Shang Yong, Zhu Chuanbai (1,999). Mr. Chen Guang, Tang Fuguo (2,001) formulated one index system and analyzed the technical innovation capacity in different region in china. However, the most comprehensive, and dynamic appraisal is the one made by the group member of the Chinese science and technology development strategy in2000 after the research of Chinese regional innovation capacity. The variety of Chinese regional economic growth and the relationship between the region with fast economic growth and the innovation capacity was found thought the appraisal of the provincial and regional innovation capacity. Besides the appraisal of the regional innovation capacity, many provinces especially the developed regions and the capital city developed the local regional innovation capacity. Such as the comparative analysis on technological power and the countermeasure research in Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shanghai (2005), the analysis of innovational capacity of enterprise in Zusanjiao region, (Zhoaquin 2004), the construction of the regional innovation system in Lanzhou and the research of development programming ect. The above research generally showed the following features: 1, the more analysis from the angle of regional innovation, and the less analysis from the institutional innovation.2, the more research aiming at the developed regions and the less research aiming at the less-developed regions especially the minority regions.

3. Methodology and Data

According to the “The Annual Report of China Regional Innovational Capability in 2003” compiled by the group of the Chinese Science and Technology Development Strategy, the innovation capacity in Northwest Minorities region was in backward position of the national levels, the situation of insufficient innovation capacity revealed in this region there was yet lack of the innovationist with marketing-consciousness and the entrepreneur with the ability of bearing risk and effectively combining the potential productive factors. On the basis of “the human capital theory” by Schurz, people in the poverty region were not naturally short of marketing-consciousness, as long as they are endowed with the institutional environment and ensured with guarantee of the expected income, their unprompted innovational consciousness will also pull up the economic development and become the engine. Therefore, insufficiency of the innovational capacity’s root is due to institutions.

The institution of any region contains the apparent parts, namely the institution prescribed by Law and government, and the recessive parts, namely, conventional habitude and faith descended by the ancestor. Sound institution can inspire the social innovational vigor, purifies the social ethos, increases the social wealth, and promotes the social justices; on the contrary, worse institution will act the opposite. The main data of the paper is adopted from “The Regional Innovation Capacity Report in China 2003” compiled by the group of the Chinese science and technology development strategy. The report has published annually since 1999 and the index appraisal system of the innovation capacity used is most authoritative and comprehensive in China.

4. Current assessment of the innovation capability in northwest minorities region

According to the research of the group of the Chinese science and technology development strategy, technological innovation capacity refers to the transformation of knowledge into the capacity of new products, new techniques and new services. The Annual Report of China Regional Innovation Capability in 2003, published by the central Party School, made an analysis and evaluating about the technological capacity of the whole nation, 31 provinces. This evaluating system was consisted with knowledge creativity, knowledge acquisition, and technology innovation of enterprise, innovative environment and performance of innovation. Table 2 shows some indexing ranks of innovation capacity of thirty-one Chinese provinces in 2003.

The main concludes this report show that China regional innovation capability from the east coast city to Middle West inland city is from high to low. The coast region shows the strong innovation capability; the innovation gap between east region and west region is much large. At the same time, the innovation of Middle West province is not clearly. The factor of innovation is not well distributed in different region. From the table, Gansu ranks 27, Xingjian 19, Qinghai 23, and Ningxia 26. The average innovational capability of northwest minorities region ranks 24, which is down level.

5. Demand & Supply analysis of innovation in northwest minorities region

5.1 Innovational demand in northwest minorities region

Innovational demand can be produced when the net income of innovation could be positive for any enterprises. The motivation behind it is that innovation can generate income compared to non-innovation situation. From the demand point of view, the following facts have significant influence on innovation in northwest minorities region.

5.1.1 The shortages of innovational demand by private enterprise

According to the innovation theory of Mr. Peter Bear (1912) enterprise is the main body of the innovational activities; from the standpoint of conventional economics, enterprise is also rational, means to aim at maximization of the profit. As we know that the normal profit can be only obtained under the perfect competition market structure and the excess profit could be acquired through innovational activities. Therefore we can draw the conclusion that the motivation of maximization of the profit constitutes innovational demand of enterprise.

However, in Northwest Minorities region the enterprises in real sense, namely the private enterprise, are deficient severely in development so as to affect innovational demand. In accordance with economic theory the economic micro-body namely the enterprise in the real sense is the private enterprises; On the other hand, the state-owned-enterprises (SOE) is inborn shortage of innovational capacity due to the deformity of property rights, the limitations of motivation mechanism etc, and therefore is not the real enterprises. In Northwest Minorities region there are relatively more industry with intercommunity resources, the state-owned-enterprises (SOE) dominating the most fields, the SOEs and the state holding company become the major executants of R & D in the regions. [The report 280,286,292,298], and that the Non state-owned economy represented by the private economy distinctly lags behind in development than that of the advanced regions.

5.1.2 Information backwardness reduces the preference of enterprise innovational risk.

Many enterprises in Northwest Minorities regions, even if the private enterprises, are poor in innovational consciousness. However, innovational consciousness is the core contents of the entrepreneurial spirit, compared with the advanced region, innovational consciousness of the private enterprises in Northwest Minorities regions is very weak. Let us look at this weakness from the points of setup of R & D department, the proportion of innovational input over sales of enterprises, the proportion of new product's sales over total sales of two regions, namely the advanced regions and Northwest Minorities regions, it is 32.1% and 25%, 5% and 2%--3%, 20% and 5%--10%. Disparity of innovational consciousness in related with the exterior environment of Northwest Minorities regions. We know that northwest Minorities regions are situated in inland with inconvenience of transportation and relative obturation of information. Since the grand development of western China, the information construction has advanced vigorously in various provinces, but compared with the advanced regions, the construction of regional innovation information network severing the local enterprises is quite backward. Information backwardness and uncertainty of risk made many enterprises reduce the preference of innovational risk. Enterprises are in dilemma between less risk and more income, as a result most of them prefer less risk and stable income rather than more risk and more income.

5.1.3 Rent-seeking behavior, the substitutes of innovation

Innovation in essence is a kind of Rent-creating behavior or Profit-seeking behavior. The innovational enterprise can enjoy the excess profit than other enterprises through exploitative of a new technology or new products; it is the result of the normal performance of market competition and therefore promotes the social welfares. Rent-seeking behavior pursues the social economic benefit at hand, when government mechanism exists flaw, enterprises can also obtain the excess profits by Rent-seeking behavior to government officials, this behavior becomes the innovational substitutes. Compared with the government of advanced regions Northwest Minorities regions, especially minority self-governing

regions, governments heavily interfere enterprises (much interference to State-owned economy). As a result of "the Law of Minorities self governing", the minority regions own more power and natural resources, in addition the complicated human relationship network, Rent-seeking behavior in Northwest Minorities regions is even more common under lacking the effective supervising and managing system. When the enterprises could obtain more benefits by Rent-seeking, innovational demand is going down and innovational motivation mechanism is distorted.

5.1.4 Property rights—the complements of innovation

According to the viewpoints of professor North (Douglass North) (North & Thomas, 1973, North, 1981, 1990) and other new institutional economy schools, full and perspicuous limits of property rights can provide the full motivation of innovational behaviors. Through the property rights limits system, it endues people with undertaking and ensures the expected income with guarantee of rights that can stimulate people's innovational consciousness and demand. the property rights limits system and its protection can be called the complements of innovation and indispensable. Compared with the developed regions, government management in Northwest Minorities regions is low and government malfunctions is even severe (Li jiande 2003). The enterprise has received the right infringements from government, such as repeated charges and multi-departments charges, such situation is at large. One from one department charges and fines the enterprise, the other one from the same department will also charges and fines. After charge and fine from one department the other department of different administrative will also charges and fines the same enterprise (Li jinde, 2003). Lacking of perpetuity rights system and incompleteness of own benefits of enterprises receives the containment of innovational demand.

5.2 Innovational supply analysis in northwest minorities region

The innovational supplies in any region depend on the willingness and environmental capability. With certain government willingness, innovational supply depends on cost, namely environmental capability. The more innovational cost the less innovational demand vice versa. From the point of view of environment the following facts impact the innovational supply in northwest minorities region.

5.2.1 Human capital requested by innovations

The creativity and utilization of neo-science and neo-technology require a group of talents with ability. If lacking of human capital then technological transfer may not be accepted, even if it is imported, it still may not be assimilated and say nothing of innovation. So human capital is very important to the innovational activities in any region. In accordance with The Annual Report of China Regional Innovation Capability in 1985-2004, the human resources competitions in Northwest Minorities regions were far away than that of in developed regions. The following table shows the ranks and scores of some top provinces and the Northwest Minorities regions about the human resources competitions:

Insert Table 2 Here

5.2.2 Infrastructures

The construction of infrastructures has direct influence over the such factors as information, the talents, fund and technology etc, which is closely connected to innovations. Good infrastructures condition is the most important link to innovational supply. Before 2000 the infrastructures conditions in northwest minorities region lag behind significantly far from that of in national level, the density of traffic network was only equivalent to one-third of the national level. Since implement of the strategy of Grand Development of West China, the transformational telecommunication structures in four provinces improved at the large scale. In 2000, heavy construction on railway and highway in Qinghai province led the growth rate of investment on fixed asset to 29.01 %, ranked at No 1 in China, the proportion of highway and railway per 10 thousand was 36.06 kilometers and 2.11 kilometers respectively, ranked at No 2 in China. In 2001 the highway construction in Qinghai province was double than that in 2000. There were five high-class highways in Gansu Province put into traffic use, road base and bridge construction of three expressways were basically in completion, four other expressways, one expressway construction linking Jiuquan to Hangtiancheng were formally launched, and at the same time, with the completion of expansion project of the Zhongchuan and Donghuang airport, it has become clear to see that the traffic condition has been ameliorated obviously. But generally speaking, the infrastructure is still backward compared to the national level. In 2002, the infrastructures index of The Annual Report of Regional innovation Capability in China showed that the ranking of the northwest minorities region among the 31 provinces was the following: No: 26 in Gansu; No: 30 in Qinghai; No: 29 in Ningxia; and No: 25 in Xinjiang. So the backwardness of the infrastructure is one of the causes which restricted the innovational supply in northwest minorities region.

5.2.3 Innovation policies of governments

Like other public commodities, technology also has the quality of non-monopoly and being external-oriented; and governments' inference will greatly promote the supply of technology innovation. Chinese governments have made many policies in terms of industrialization of advanced technology and advanced industrial cluster. The local

governments in northwest ethnic regions also made some special policies so as to support local technology innovation, such as Regulations on Developing Private-owned Technology Enterprises in Gansu (May 8th, 2004), Regulations on Investment in Form of New and Advanced Technological Achievements (June 23rd, 2004) and Encouragement Regulations on Attracting Investment into Xining Economic and Technological Development Zone (June 28th, 2004). However, there are still some problems for the northwest ethnic regions so far as innovation policies are concerned: first of all, allocating measures are not good enough. A technological innovation policy covers many factors: finance, tax, legislation, information, procurement, education and management, etc; involves many departments and even lacks necessary policy support; all of these will directly affect the efficiency of the technological innovation policy. Take *Regulations on Developing Private-owned Technology Enterprises in Gansu* as an example, the regulations about innovation fund and credit support are quite unclear and are hard to operate. Secondly, supervision system of policies is not perfect. Such policy supervision is an important measure to check administrative action, correct errors in policy administration and guarantee the effectiveness of policies. But in northwest ethnic regions, there are clear supervision standards during the implementation of technological innovation; there is no special assessment and feedback channel or powerful top-down supervision system, nor series of strict regulations to guarantee supervision and checking.

5.2.4 Funds environment for innovative activities

Funds environment is an important part of the macro environment of innovation; sound funds environment will greatly promote innovative supply. According to the standards of innovative funds and financial environment for enterprises' technological development listed in The Annual Report of China Regional Innovation Capability (2003), among 31 provinces, municipal cities and autonomous regions Gansu ranks 15th and 6th respectively, Xinjiang 25th and 25th, Qinghai 27th and 27th, and Ningxia 26th and 31st. Except Gansu, all the other three are on lower level. The first reason is that northwest ethnic regions are inferior to developed regions in terms of quantity and degree of financial network and products. Secondly, less profit is made by enterprises in northwest ethnic regions, their overall capacity of loan-returning is under average, moreover, due to old-fashioned systems of state-owned enterprises, they are just waiting for national favored policies, treat loans as compensation to their previous sacrifice and are reluctant to pay off their loans. These result in bad credit environment and reduced the banks zeal to offer loans to them. All the above-mentioned points cased unsound funds environment in northwest ethnic regions.

5.2.5 Humane environment of innovation and progress

As the soul of entrepreneur, innovation is internally produced. Ideal soil for entrepreneurs is humane environment of innovation, progress and toleration. Governments' relief aid to poverty-stricken area does not solve the problem for good, otherwise, to some extent, it leads to the idea of "waiting for, relying on and asking for (relief fund)". Northwest ethnic regions have their own geographical features: being rather closed, high latitude, cold climate, and underdeveloped transportation. Under such closed natural and economic conditions, local people formed such cultural psyche: being satisfied with status quo, equalitarianism, being conservative and drawback, being satisfied with minor wealth, nostalgia to hometown, etc. This negative psyche confines people's ideas, refrains the full play of innovative spirits and restricts the local economic development.

The characteristics of human capital, infrastructure, innovation policies, funds environment, humane environment etc in Northwest Minorities regions determine high cost and less quantity of innovational supply, it shows that insufficiency of demand and supply in Northwest Minorities regions cause less innovation and innovational capacity.

6. Conclusion and Implications

From the above analysis, there are two thoughts in stimulating regional innovation vigor and improving innovational capacity in Northwest Minorities regions.

- 1). To secure effective performance of innovation mechanism, it contains (1) to enhance market mechanism, and to activate the development of private enterprise; (2) to quicken reform of research system of higher academy, and to enlarge proportion on market allocation of scientific resources; (3) to strengthen the construction information; (4) to deepen administrative management reform of government, promoting government efficiency; (5) to reduce Rent-seeking behaviors; (6) to perfect property-rights system.
- 2). To low cost of innovational supply and creates better innovational. It includes (1) optimizing the environment for talents and attacking them; (2) reinforcing infrastructures and funs environment; (3) formulating various policies for encouraging innovations and building operational consciousness & business spirit which is relatively in low level in Northwest Minorities regions; (4) creating the human environment for encouraging innovation.

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Table 1. GDP per capita in different regions in China

		1978	1991	1998	2002
The GDP per capita northwest minorities region		362	1557	4282	6064
The GDP per capita in national level		375	1758	6078	8300
The GDP per capita of Guangdong province		367	2823	11184	19318

Source: China Statistical Yearbook (in 1978, 1991, 1998, 2002)

Table 2. The ranks and scores of human resources competitions (2003)

Province	Beijing	Shanghai	Guangdong	jiangsu	tianjin	zhejiang	gansu	xinjiang	qinhai	ninxia
Rank	99.96	91.70	75.42	58.76	69.49	81.01	33.45	32.34	27.33	36.56
score	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Source: The Annual Report of China Regional Innovation Capability in 2003, published by the Central Party School



Gu's Embroidery

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Abstract

In Chinese embroidery history, the Gu's embroidery (originally a boudoir craft from Lu Xiang Yuan) as a famous brand, was well introduced and accepted during its commercialization. In fact, the Gu's Embroidery became the synonym of all embroideries at that time, and further exerted a far-reach influence upon the "Four Renowned Embroideries" existing in the Qing dynasty through the modern times. It is really a fun for both painting and embroidery lovers to explore the refined tastes of the Gu's embroidery and its cultural background, as the fancy art is deemed a height of Ming and Qing embroidery art.

Keywords: China, Ming dynasty, Female art, Embroidery, Stitch technique

1. Background of the Gu's Embroidery

Gu's Embroidery was created by the ladies of Gu Mingshi's family in Shanghai during the Late Ming Dynasty. It was popular sayings that Mm. Miao, a concubine of Gu Huihai (Gu Mingshi's first son) was the first master of Gu's Embroidery. Only one Miscellaneous Album in the world is concealed by Shanghai Museum. A private seal that reads "*Miao shi rui yun*" (named Miao Ruiyun) was embroidered on one leaf. Later, another master named Han Ximeng, the wife of the second grandson of Gu Mingshi, developed new skills and was reputed as "Saint Needle". Her embroidery was honored as Ms. Han's Embroidery because of her great reputation in the late Ming Dynasty (17th). Both of them were not only clever at drawing but also at embroidery before marriage. Since entered the Gu's, they had chance to appreciate the classical paintings involved in such reined critical by their husbands' friends of high officials, literati and artists. Under such art influence, they specialized in combining painting and calligraphy with embroidery. Here, the artistic stitch and ink got along well with each other. Furthermore, fine unique observation and the art feeling of female were infiltrated in the painting embroidery.

2. One school of outstanding Gu's embroidery for vivid effect

Their most important contribution was new embroidery techniques, specially in thread preparing, color matching and stitching. Based on embroidery techniques of the Song dynasty, the Gu's Embroidery further improved the old techniques. The Gu's ladies spited the thread to get fine delicate one for different width line. The elegant taste seen in the Gu's embroidery is brought out by a great breakthrough in sewing techniques --- the birth of the irregular long and short stitch (Figure. 1) and the hairy stitch (Figure. 2). In order to create a natural color shade, they also gave up the encroaching satin stitch and refined the long and short stitch in order to solve the problem of abrupt shades and obvious traces left by stitches. The stitches looks irregular arranged both in length and direction for smooth effect. Hairy stitches were added when the motif was animal. Through the unique tone and texture brought out by silk materials and sewing techniques, the embroidery works always possesses an exquisite, feminine and soft flavor that painting brushes can not express. Since both Miao Ruiyun and Han Ximeng were so familiar with the affection of silk thread in reflecting the lights, they could create vivid looks of multi-hued of the silk embroidery painting even by using just only one color silk thread. Such improvement pushed the Gu Embroidery a big step further in copying classical works and rendering the nature. What made their embroidery excels over other embroideries were their aesthetic acuity and art perception.

If not looking closely enough at Gu's embroidery, it is very difficult to distinguish the difference between the beautiful contemporary embroidery works and Gu's embroidery pieces. Some works had detailed pin marks. Some works magically portrayed the edge of the rocks, ashy or cloudy waves, trees in the wind, shape claws and leather of accipiter, and utensils, in elegant picturesque decorative way. The achievement of Gu's embroidery is beyond description.

2.1 Examples from Miao Ruiyun's

For example, a masterpiece produced in the early stage of the Gu's embroidery, *Miscellaneous album* by Miao Ruiyun (from Shanghai Museum), was the most extraordinary one at that time. It consists of ten leaves, respectively *Withered tree, bamboo and rockery, Bamboo, Zhaojun's departure for the frontier, Wenji parting with her family, Sad farewell of Su Wu to Li Ling, Li Guang defends the frontier, Bird, camellia and plum blossoms, Squirrels and grapes, Falcon on a willow sprig, Crabapple and Chinese bulbul*. The two works, *Withered tree, bamboo and rockery* and *Bamboo*, were embroidered in the style close to the famous paintings from Song and Yuan Dynasties. Some well-known scenes of historic stories were displayed in the works of *Zhaojun's departure for the frontier, Wenji parting with her family, Sad farewell of Su Wu to Li Ling* and *Li Guang defends the frontier*. The rest of the four leaves were motifs of birds and flowers. What amazed the observers was that Miao Ruiyun improved the technique from arrays of long and short stitches to irregular ones. Her works are shown the high quality in expressing the spirit of the prototype work deftly by colored threads.

Withered tree, bamboo and rockery (Figure. 3) and *Bamboo* (Figure. 4) were stitched along the vigorous shapes. By closely observing the tree shape, the master emphasized the craggy looks and the mottled scar features by variety stitches of different location, direction and adding stitches in different color. In addition, she developed irregular long and short stitch through turning its direction for curve stroke. (Figure 3-1)

Four pieces depicted respectively scenes of famous stories about frontier fortress in the Han Dynasty, *Zhaojun's departure for the frontier, Wenji parting with her family, Sad farewell of Su Wu to Li Ling* and *Li Guang defends the frontier*. *Zhaojun's departure for the frontier* was about the historical fact during the reign of Yuandi (B.C48~33). (Figure. 5) Wang Zhaojun was sent to the Huns as an ambassador of the Han dynasty and married Hun's khan. In this leaf, each Figureure was expressive. For example, Zhaojun was blushing and nervous while the maid carrying Zhaojun's lute looked back at the way where they came from which indicating that she was reluctant to leave her country. Khan who came to receive his bride was gazing at this beauty with great joy. Two Huns carrying flags looked at each other with pleasure eye look of returning home. *Wenji parting with her family* (Figure. 6) was about the story that (A.D25~220) Cai Wenji came back to Central China from the Huns in the end of the Eastern Han dynasty. This leaf depicts the very scene of Cai Wenji's parting with her husband and son just before her leaving. Her eyes were full of complaint while her husband looked sad. *Sad farewell of Su Wu to Li Ling* and *Li Guang defends the frontier* (Figure. 7) depicts the scene of the departure of Su Wu and his best friend Li Ling. Su was an ambassador of the Han dynasty who was imprisoned by the Huns for nineteen years. Li Ling used to be a general of the Han dynasty but surrendered to the Huns later. In this picture, Su Wu and Li Ling stood gazing at each other, sadly and reluctantly while the sheep were playing happily as usual. The contrast expression made the scene even more sentimental. *Li Guang defends the frontier* (Figure.8) is the story about General Li Guang in the Eastern Han dynasty. Since Li Guang guarded the frontier areas, the Huns dared not to invade the territory of the Han government for many years. This leaf depicts the scene of Li Guang accepting the peace treaty and the city in the distance was Lulong. Human Figureures depicting in these leaves are vivid and with elegant sculpts. Generally, these leaves were mainly executed in long and short stitch and parallel satin stitch. For example, human Figureure's heads and faces, garments, dogs, horses, flags, trees, grass, stones were all worked in these two stitches. Only some parts were finished in other stitches. Different stitches were used as required by different patterns. Fancy stitch against the painted texture was to create a *jin*-silk-like effect for silk rug on saddles and the lute bag. (Figure. 5-1, 5-2) Gold couching stitch was used for the edges of saddles and ribbons, hats and garments made of fur and tassels on horses ect.. (Figure. 8-1, 8-2) What made them so exclamatory is that although human Figureures and animals' eyes are no bigger than mosquito's head, they were still worked by embroidery delicately. In the tibia, boundaries between legs and stomach and parts of gills of a horse, silk threads were padded under the embroidery. From the minor variations in the body of the horse, there existed the applying of changing stitches, sometimes concentrated and sometimes scattered. The horse embroidered by Miao Ruiyun is very vivid, fat, healthy and strong. (Figure.5-3)

Four leaves depicting flowers and birds, *Bird, camellia and plum blossoms*, (Figure. 9) *Squirrels and grapes*, (Figure. 10) *Falcon on a willow sprig*, (Figure. 11) *Crabapple and Chinese bulbul*, (Figure. 12) were skillfully embroidered with elegant and blithesome color scheme and patterns faithful to life. The flowers, leaves, grapes and vines were embroidered in long and short stitch with threads in a variety of colors. For example, the plum sprigs in the leaf of camellia, plum blossom and bird were embroidered with threads in more than five colors including light green, gray-green, gray-purple and more. A leaf gnawed by worms in the leaf of squirrel and grape was embroidered with threads in no less than nine colors. (Figure. 10-1) Birds' bellies were executed in hair stitch, bodies in long and short stitch. Stamens was done by Chinese knot stitch. (Figure. 9-1, 9-2) The most wonderful leaf among the four works was *Squirrels and grapes* which was finished mainly by irregular long and short stitch, together with hair stitch in painting-style embroidery for the first time. (Figure. 10-2)

2.2 Examples from Han Ximeng's

Miao Ruiyun made a breakthrough in the art of embroidered paintings. She discerned the limitations of parallel long and short stitch which was widely used in Suzhou, and developed an irregular long and short stitch for embroidering realistic paintings. Latter, Han Ximeng applied and improved the skill in her embroidery. (I deleted one sentence here.) The four album leaves were respectively titled *Rockery, flower and butterflies, Autumn cricket, Fish, and Waterweed and shrimps*. They were all chosen motifs of the surroundings of a pond in the garden.

Leaf 1: *Rockery, flower and butterflies* (Figure. 13)

A little rockery stood erectly on the slopes with several flower twigs growing beside and two butterflies fluttering lightly above the swaying flowers in the sun. The rockery was executed in long and short stitch with grey-green threads. The sloping land was first outlined by embroidery worked in slanting parallel satin stitch then painted. The butterflies were executed in long and short stitch with fine threads in different shades of yellow. The flowers were embroidered in irregularly centralized long and short stitch. It should be pointed out that the artist paid more attention to the final effect through perfect design including flexible density of silk stitches, the shadow of stitch and uncovered painting color. (Figure. 13-1) She produced a vivid visual effect for observer by the glisten characteristic of silk thread. It was a pity that similar motif could not be found in later Gu embroidery and the vivid expression of such techniques was missing.

Leaf 2: *Autumn mecopoda* (Figure. 14)

The embroidery depicts a mecopoda singing on a wildflower with its wings buzzing. Purple flowers were behind the rockery and graceful marguerite was spreading out. Irregular long and short stitch was used in horizontal for the mecopoda. Daisy leaves were used parallel stain stitch like fishbone. The colors of the leave were arranged from yellow-green, deep green to dark brown by using irregular long and short stitch due to the realistic leaf. The flower leaves were executed in long and short stitch while the stamens were in Chinese knot stitch. The mecopoda with strong legs and highly raised horns was very much alive.

Leaf 3: *Fish* (Figure. 15)

The embroidery depicts three fishes swimming in a clear pool. The water was so clear to see the algae floating between two silver-grey carps and tawny catfish. Some duckweed was drifting on the surface of the pool. Duckweed looked so rich with three-doped color hue stitches which were white, yellow and green. By using long and short stitches, there were five hues: the separation of white, light yellow, yellow, green and light green. Dark green was also useful in embroidering the duckweed when stitched in slightly different angle direction which helped in making a different silk sheen for producing light green, green, dark green, and different shades of green. Leaf color changes under the light from different angle. With the same principle, Han Ximeng embroidered fish with the same silk sheen. Irregular long and short stitch in colors was adopted in catfish and carp on the scales of natural performance in real life.

Leaf 4: *Waterweed and shrimps* (Figure. 16)

The scene of shrimps in pond: clear pond water, bulrush flower shrimp and five shrimps enjoyed feeding and cruising around the duckweed in the water. Fan-shaped leaves of aquatic plants were embroidered with outline stitch along a slightly curved line. Grass green and light pink stitches were used in order to describe the outgrowth of the plant. Parallel satin stitch was used for bulrush flower and leaves. By using the irregular long and short stitch with several colors of black, dark grey, gray, and Qi Laoxian, the shrimps were vividly embroidered. Qi Laoxian is a skill of contouring edge with outline stitch, and then covering satin or groups of long and short stitches from the outline stitches for making tidy and thick edge. Split stitch and hairy stitch were applied to the shrimps to bring out their thin exoskeleton.

3. The other school of outstanding Gu's embroidery for ink effect

It is worth mentioning that, the other genre of Gu's embroidery came up at the same time in addition to Han Ximeng or Miao Ruiyun in the early development of Gu's embroidery. Although it is impossible to know the embroiderers, we can still identify the works by the symbol word of the Gu's embroidery with "Hu Tou" mark and "Emperor Ming Gu embroidery" mark. There are works from the collection of the Shanghai Museum, *Victory report* hand scroll, *Sixteen arhats* album and *Zhong Kui* hanging scroll. The main techniques were to stitch along the outline in order to make up the glinting colors. These stitches were made freely in the performance of pen and ink lines. The technique made it hard to distinguish in the work which part was embroidered and which part was painted even looking closely at it. The embroidery techniques of using the very fine silk yarn in couching embroidery is to fine-tune the arc of the stitch for proper silk overtone, particularly the very fine lines in Figureures to be made, smoke, etc. According to the width and curve of the lines, parallel satin stitch, turning stitch, outline stitch and split stitch and couching embroidery were used by the turn of mixed-embroidered line in one stroke. These were the main features of the genre. Most chosen subjects were joss and scenes of the historical story as well. The famous piece, for example, was *Victory repor*. (Figure. 17) This work presented a historical story called dong shan zai qi (means "bob up like a cork"). The postscript written by master

Dong Qichang at the end of this scroll confirmed that this work was embroidered by the Gu's ladies, dating the 5th year of Chongzhen reign (1632). It is the earliest Gu's embroidery as far as known. In the story the Prime Minister Xie An was playing chess with another gentleman in a pavilion while waiting for the victory report from the battlefield which was indicated by a horse rider behind a stone bridge. Most of the part in this work was painted while only some part was outlined by silk threads. Various stitches were adopted to fit together in one stork, include parallel satin stitch, split stitch, outline stitch, long and short stitch, couching embroidery. (Figure. 17-1) The other techniques used for real pattern were pine-needle stitch, hairy stitch, crackle embroidery and brocade embroidery. The whole work boasts refined colors, rich painting flavor, dense stitches, and a subtle luster.

The most exquisite work should be the *Sixteen arhats* which reveals the combination of wonderful painting and techniques. (Figure. 18) This album consists of eighteen leavesl, with the fist leave presenting the image of Avalokitesvara and the last, Skanda. Each of the other sixteen leaves depicts one arhart in Buddhism. The images' contour lines were first drawn on the silk textile before various shades of black threads and white threads were sewn accordingly. The main technique was to stitch along the outline in order to make up the glinting colors. These stitches were made in very freely styles in the performance of pen and ink lines. Concerning the embroidery techniques, the use of very fine silk yarn in couching embroidery is to fine-tune the arc of the stitch for proper silk overtone particularly on the very fine lines. According to the width and curve of the lines, parallel satin stitch, turning stitch, outline stitch and split stitch and couching embroidery were used by the turn of mixed-embroidered line in one stroke. The other stitch types used in this work were split and outline stitches for contours, basket embroidery, couching stitch and broken stitch to render the cushion, tassel, human hair and moustache. (Figure. 18-1) Through this way, even when we observe closely to the work, it is hard to distinguish which part was embroidered and which part was painted. This work is prized as a masterpiece of arhat-themed embroidery.

4. The development of Gu's Embroidery from Ming dynasty to Qing dynasty

When Gu's embroidery was developed in high repute, more and more ladies embroiders, not only in the courtyard of Gu but also others, began to Figureure out Gu's embroidery stitch techniques. Thus the works gained the name, Gu embroidery. Some even started to its imitate the style. The art of Gu's embroidery spread constantly in the country and was well accepted by the public as works of art. A variety of refined styles were also known as Gu embroidery. There were also excellent works, such as *Majestic Eagle*. (Figure. 19) This work presents an eagle with golden eyes and tough claws who was staring at two flying kingfishers on a camellia spray. The scared kingfishers set a sharp contrast to the majestic look of the Eagle. The details of the stitches can be seen in the photograph. Generally, in the process of the stitching development, the techniques complicatedly applied by Gu's, had heritated, specially the irregular long and short stitch and hairy stitch. To a certain extent, these stitches were used in various color density and length and loose thread. (Figure. 19-1) Besides, embroidery techniques used in this work include fancy couching stitch, outline stitch as well as long and short stitch.

In the mid-Qing Dynasty, it was recorded a lady known as *Gu Lanyu*, who made a living by embroidery works. She was also praised as the descendant of Gu's embroidery. She set up an academy for teaching the embroidery techniques. As a result, *Gu Lanyu*'s Gu embroidery stitch techniques were widely spread and eventually established another embroidery techniques in the Qing Dynasty. Commercialized Gu's embroidery or Lu Xiang Gardern embroidery were well known in the world. Since embroidery of Figureures in story started from Gu's embroidery, special stitches came out and were widely used during the development of Gu embroidery. *Wang Huizhi*, and *the bamboo lover*, as an example, represented the mid-late Gu embroidery as story subject. (Figure. 20) This work depicts a bamboo lover called Wang Huizhi sitting in the bamboo groves. The inscription at the top expresses Wang's cheerful state of mind when enjoying bamboo scenery. In Wang's view, it is more joyful being in the bamboo scenery than being a high-ranked official. Wang Huizhi (? -388) was the famous calligrapher in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. He was very fond of bamboo and personally planted a lot in his residency. He adored highly on the bamboo and told a friend once, "The bamboos symbolize the noble spirits. I can not live a day without it!" While making his young servants cook the tea for him, he was also monitoring with great joy the two porters who were carrying bamboos. Bamboos were planted by his young servants. Embroidery techniques used in this work including long and short stitch, outline stitch, overlapped stitch, as well as network embroidery and brocade embroidery which can be seen in the details from the photrap. (Figure. 20-1, 20-2)

Looking through Gu embroidery art from the late Ming Dynasty to the Qing in the development process, it can be seen that from it was embroidered to imitate painting, further to sketch the natural and latter turned into more stylized forms. These various style were accompanied by different stitches. As far as I can take into account, there are two stages of Gu embroidery in the process of techniques. At the beginning, the techniques of incorporating the skill of painting into embroidery in the Gu's embroidery was highly regarded. Two school took place. The *Sixteen arhats* was the representative work from one school. The techniques were outline stitch, split stitch, parallel satin stitch, turning stitch, couching, in one stroke according to the painting. However, it was a great pity not be able to pass down the skills to the later followers. Han Ximen was the representation of the other school for her special skill of painting by needle. Works

were carefully embroidered to deliver vivid sense with a combination of stitch techniques in various colors for the first time. The stitch forms were irregular long and short stitch, hairy stitch and turning stitch. The techniques had significant impact on future generations. Two schools both had a lively style of the extraordinary quality. Thus, Gu's embroidery entered the Arts Center.

Excellence in the arts of Gu embroidery made the upper clans compete to collect the works. Soon, Gu embroidery was in high repute. Under the high price for famous piece, the Gu embroidery attracted many embroider to do similar pieces. The techniques adapted into forms for quick learning. As a result, the next stage came out. When the art of Gu embroidery was becoming more and more popular, various styles were developed through the techniques. The typical three types are the line-type, the area-type and the surface simulation category. The line-type consists couching, split stitch, outline stitch, parallel satin stitch and turning stitch, and so on. Couching or outline stitch was used for very fine lines such as wave lines and cloud outlines. Parallel satin stitch or turning stitch were used for strips. Parallel satin stitch in various directions or by irregular parallel long and short stitch is used for covering big area in the work. The former was used in simple colors or in small area. The latter was used in large area and in complex colors. In surface simulation category, there were many different kind of stitches used according to the needs in the paintings. They are hairy stitch for the performance of hair, the pine-needle stitch for the performance of pine needles, and brocade embroidery for the performance of clothing or fabric. And fancy couching stitch was to form a pattern or texture structures, such as the paws of birds or prey, the Figureure's wrinkles. The integration stage of the Gu embroidery focused on the refinement measures in stitching types. Much effort were given in the area of new stitches (new and typical are contrary meanings). Most of them could be formatted easily, that's to say, they were required the embroidery knew some simple stitch skill enough. They needn't know how to painting and apply it into embroidery. New techniques by adding other material in embroidery or using bi-colored thread in one stitch lines were also welcomed at that time. Until mid-Qing Dynasty, Gu's embroidery works attached brand marks of "Lu Xiang Garden" or "Qi Bi Zhai" were clearly for commercial purpose. The neatly stitching for painting effect was gradually lost in details and was replaced by plain stitching. A notch between two parallel satin stitches was formed in the Gu embroidery technique later on.

In short, the art of Gu embroidery reached a peak of the art in embroidered painting, and it also succeeded in commercialization of Gu embroidery brand as embroidered paintings.

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Figure 1. Irregular long and short stitch



Figure 2. Hairy stitch



Figure 3. Tree, bamboo and rockery

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 3-1. Detail (rockery) in Figure 3



Figure 4. Bamboo
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum

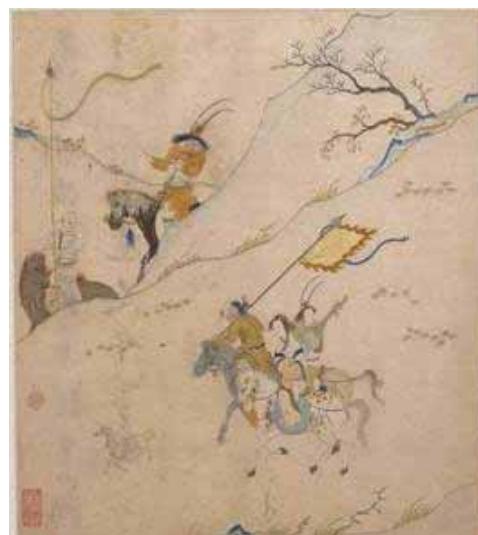


Figure 5. Zhaojun's departure for the frontier
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 5-1. Detail (Figureure and bag) in Figure. 5

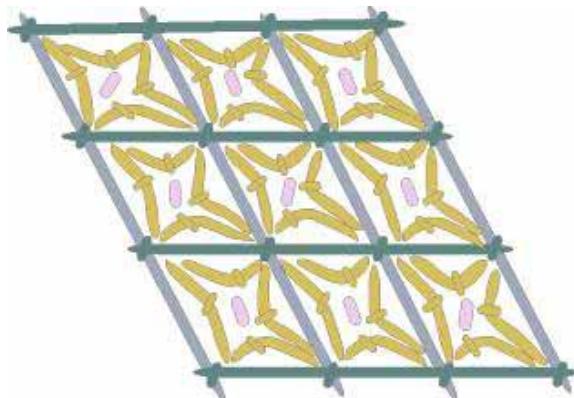


Figure 5-2. Brocade embroidery for bag

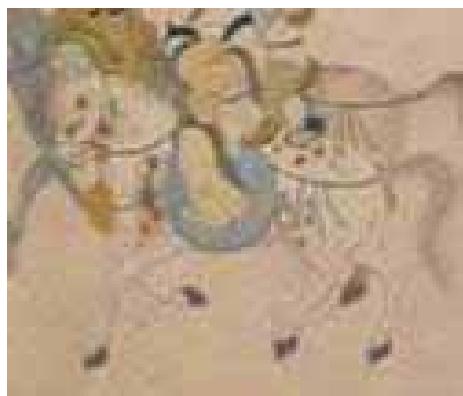


Figure 5-3. Detail (horse) in Figure.5



Figure 6. Wenji parting with her family

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 7. Sad farewell of Su Wu to Li Ling

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 8. Li Guang defends the frontier

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 8-1. Detail (Sword and Armor) in Figure 8

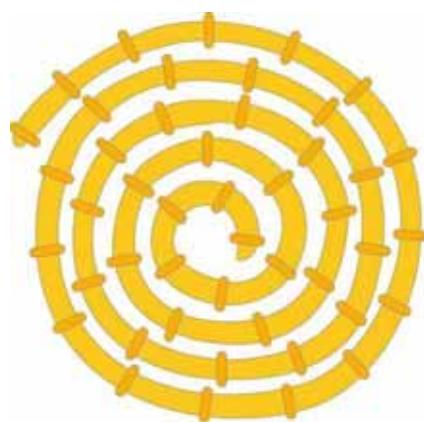


Figure 8-2. Gold couching embroidery for sword and armor



Figure 9. Bird, camellia and plum blossoms

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 9-1. Detail (camellia) in Figure 13

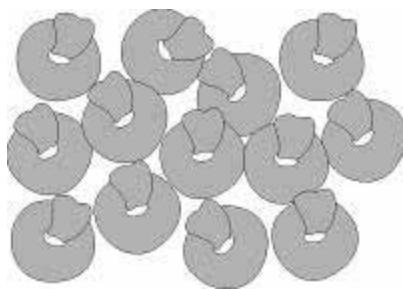


Figure 9-2. Chinese knot stitch drawing for camellia stamen



Figure 10. Squirrels and grapes
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 10-1. Detail (grapes) in Figure 10



Figure 10-2. Detail (squirrel) in Figure 10



Figure 11. Falcon on a willow sprig
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 12. Crabapple and Chinese bulbul
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 28.7 cm W. 26.8 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 13. Rockery, flower and butterflies

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 30.3 cm W. 23.9 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 13-1. Detail (flower) in Figure 13



Figure 14. Autumn mecopoda

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

L. 30.3 cm W. 23.9 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 15. Fish
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 30.3 cm W. 23.9 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 16. Waterweed and shrimps
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
L. 30.3 cm W. 23.9 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 17. Victory report
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
Handscroll: L. 27.1 cm W. 79.5 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 17-1. Detail (pine tree) in Figure 17



Figure 18. Sixteen arhats
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
Eighteen album leaves: each L.28.2 cm W. 29 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 18-1. Detail (arhat) in Figure 18



Figure 19. Majestic eagle
Qing dynasty (1644-1911)
L. 163.7 cm W. 46.1 cm
In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 19-1. Detail (the eagle) in Figure 19



Figure 20. Wang Huizhi, the bamboo lover

Qing dynasty (1644-1911)

Mounted: L. 156.6 cm W. 41.1 cm

In the collection of the Shanghai Museum



Figure 20-1. Detail (Wang Huizhi) in Figure 20

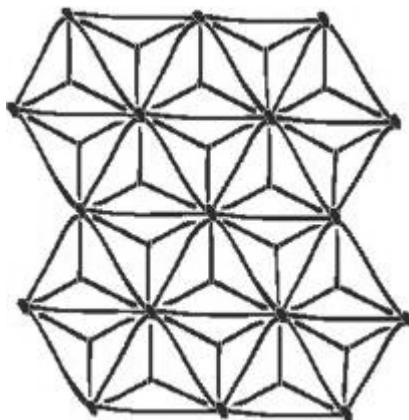


Figure 20-2. Network embroidery for white lap

The Study of Factors Contributing to Chef Turnover in Hotels in Klang Valley, Malaysia

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Abstract

Service plays a crucial role in the developed countries, and is a growing economic driver in developing countries. Since it offers more work opportunities than product based commodities, the service sector has been taken seriously for the past 30 years. The tourism industry in Malaysia is in the developing process and the service sector is the key driver towards its growth. The main focus of this study is to look at the hotel industry which is within the tourism industry that faces a major problem of employee turnover. In a much smaller scope; the focus would be on employee turnover in the kitchen department which had not been explored quite significantly. The study would attempt to discover aspects which actually perceived by the employees as important for them to retain employment in the kitchen.

Keywords: Chef, Hotel industry, Turnover, Tourism, Hospitality

1. Introduction

Services represent the majority of today's economy, not only in developed countries but also developing countries throughout the world. In most countries, the service sector of the economy is very diverse, comprising a wide array of different industries that sell to individual customers and business customers as well as to government agencies and nonprofit organizations (Lovelock and Wright, 2002). Service industries also account for most of the growth in new jobs (Brayner, 1997). In Malaysia, the tourism industry has been identified as the key driver in the growth of the service sector (Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Malaysia, <http://www.epu.jpm.my>).

However, the growth of the service industry and the tourism industry in Malaysia as a whole had been embittered by the high turnover rate in the hotel industry which plays a major role in the service as well as the tourism industry. Denvir and McMahon (1992), defined labor turnover as "the movement of people in and out of employment within an organization". It can be voluntary or involuntary. Correspondingly, on the basis that people leave an organization for multitude of reasons that may not be management related (Eade, 1993).

Turnover in the hospitality industry has been shown to be unacceptably high (Kennedy and Berger 1994), averaging up to 200 or 300 percent per annum (Woods, 1992, Tanke, 1990, Boella, 1988, Wheelhouse, 1989), although substantial variations exist between different establishments. It was found that the turnover rates in the hospitality industry were not only high in the developing countries but also for developed countries like USA where employee turnover rates are more than 100% in restaurants (Hudson 1997, Kotler et al, 1999) and 65% in lodging industry (Hinkin, 2005). This high rate leads to increased orientation, training and development and recruitment costs. The literature has so far identified factors that impact on turnover rates as orientation and socialization process (Kennedy & Berger, 1994, Woods, 1992), ad hoc recruitment and selection procedures (Bonn & Forbringer, 1992, Woods & Macaulay, 1989, Wagner 1991, Wheelhouse 1989), discrimination at workplace (Antolik, 1993), training and development opportunities (Hogan, 1992, Hiemstra, 1990, Conrade et al, 1994), management styles (Lee Ross, 1993, Boella, 1988, Wheelhouse, 1989, Rowden, 1995, Woods and Macaulay, 1989), organizational commitment (Denvir and McMahon, 1992), competition and organizational culture (Woods and Macaulay, 1989), labor shortage (Debrah, 1994, Woods, 1992), stress and burnout (Vallen, 1993, Woods, 1992, 1992, Hom & Griffeth, 1995), the seasonal nature of the industry (Boella 1988, Denvir and McMahon, 1992, and job satisfaction (Bonn and Forbringer, 1992, Hom and Griffeth, 1995, Wheelhouse, 1995). Findings of turnover rate of employees in many industries have addressed the causes, effects and implications of turnover. Numerous studies found that turnover rate was associated with employees demographic and personal characteristics, overall job satisfaction, organization and work environment, job content and intrinsic motivation, the external labor environment, and employees perceptions of alternative jobs, absenteeism, lateness and job performance (McHatton, M.T Van Dyke T, and Steiner, R, (1997), Pizam, A & Taylor E (1999), Boles J.S, Ross L.E & Johnson J.T (1995).

Other studies attempted to find the relationship between intervening variables and retention. For example, research suggested that perceived organizational support strongly influenced job satisfaction and organizational commitment. They also concluded that the intent to quit a job was influenced by both job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Susskind, Borchgrevink, Kacmar & Bryner (2000)). Some studies also recommended retention programmes that could reduce turnover and its effects. These included realistic job previews, job enrichment, workspace characteristics, and socialization practices (Boles et al, 1995). The trade literature is filled with prescribed studies to tackle turnover and reduce retention (Hampton, 2000, Shanahan, 2000, Schreiber, 2000, Baumann, 2000, Hensdill, 2000). It is important to highlight, however, that most of the studies addressed management retention or full time employees. Another study by Milman, 2001, addressed the hourly paid employees of their needs of job satisfaction and organizational commitment, but they did not address the relation of the front line managers and the reason the employees keep on working for that particular establishment. Many turnover studies have focused on other industry causes and effects. To date, however, comprehensive and substantial studies have not been conducted to determine the direct and indirect causes of turnover in the hotel industry, although some hotels have undertaken individual turnover analyses to address this issue (Nankervis, 1991, Debrah, 1994). This could be attributed to the fact that, even though employee turnover has financial consequences, the problem is often ignored because the costs are indirect and hidden (Donnelly, cited in Hiemstra, 1990). Furthermore, many hotels may consider it simply part of "doing business" in this industry. In their attempts to find and keep employees,

many companies use incentives such as pay, benefits, promotion and training. However, these efforts often miss their goal, as some research indicated that the front line manager is the key to attracting and retaining employees (Buckingham and Coffman, 1999). In relation to the literature, many studies pertaining to employee turnover has focused mainly in other industry, and turnover studies undertaken in the hospitality industry by far has focused on the management, service staff, amusement park, hotel staff as a whole, and part time or hourly paid employees. To date, there are no studies that has been undertaken to survey the turnover rates among the kitchen staff or the Chef responsible in the kitchen of many hotels. This study focus on the relationship between the Chef in charge of a kitchen and his/her lower level kitchen staff and the effects it has towards the kitchen staff turnover rates as a whole.

2. Methodology

For the purpose of this study, employee turnover was defined as “the number of persons hired within six months to replace those leaving or who dropped out of the workforce”. The research solicited data from 15 different hotels in Klang Valley area in Malaysia. A self administered questionnaire was developed based on previous studies on retention, employee turnover, employee satisfaction. The questions included items pertaining to the employee’s demographic features like age, gender, employee’s role in the organization, income, duration of work, educational level and the position they are currently holding (10 items). The 2nd section of the questionnaire explores the level of satisfaction from the lower level staff point of view towards their superior. The aspects being assess were whether the staff feel their superior is helping in their training process, does their superior influence their turnover intention, does their superior help in their work progress, does their superior look after his/her subordinates, are they helpful in building a conducive working environment, does their superior play a role in their intention to work longer, does their superior behavior negatively influence their intention to work longer, and does the relationship with their superior possess any influence in their intention to stay in the same workplace longer. All these aspects are being measured based on a 7 point Likert scale. To predict retention, respondents were asked on a question about their likelihood to refer someone to their current place of employment and their likelihood of remaining with their current employer.

3. Findings

A total of 400 questionnaires were distributed throughout the 15 participating hotels in Klang Valley area in Kuala Lumpur. Correspondingly, a total of 320 questionnaires was able to be identified as usable and could be used for further data input. The sample identified were a total of 29.2% working less than 2 years, 42% has been working for 2 years but less than 5 years and 15% working for 5 years but less than 10 years. The majority of the respondents are between the age of 21 to 44 (61.3%) and 35 to 44 years old (27.8%). 86.5% of the sample are males and the rest are females. The respondents are divided by executive/sous/executive sous Chef (15.6%), Chef De Partie (14.1%), Demi Chef (14.4%), Commis I, II and III (49.1%), Cook (4.7%), and kitchen helper (2.2%). In terms of income, most respondents’ earnings are less than RM10 000 annually (62.5%). Subsequently, the respondents comes from Coffeehouse Kitchen (25.6%), Malay & Banquet Kitchen (20.3% each respectively), pastry kitchen (10.6%), Bakery kitchen (9%), followed by Specialty kitchen (6.3%) others (6.6%), Garde Manger (5.3%), Butchery (3.8%), and Oriental kitchen (0.3%).

4. Results

The results show that the staff perceived their superior (Chef De Partie, Sous Chef and Executive Chef) as an independent person who is able to work with others. They are also very professional in terms of work and significantly helps in their colleagues training process. At the same time, they are also perceived as very helpful and they really look out for their subordinates in terms of work. However, the Chef does not possess significant influence in building a conducive working environment., although they have no discrimination or anything negative towards their colleagues. The findings, indicate that relationship with one’s superior plays a vital role in determining whether a staff will keeps on working in that particular organization. Income is another factor that seems to have a significant role in influencing the staff to stay in the organization. Education also seems to have a strong influence in turnover, whereby its shows the more educated they are, the longer they will stay in one particular organization. These findings could lead to a possibility that the more educated staff received a much better pay compared to the less educated. Another significant findings is that, a person that has been in the industry for more than 2 years but less than 5 years tend to switch organizations much more frequently compared to those that are in the industry for less than 2 years and those that have been working for more than 5 years in the hotel industry. The findings also revealed that the staff holding a position higher than Demi Chef works longer in one organization in comparison with their lower level subordinates.

5. Discussions

The findings in the study show 3 main aspects that are quite significant in the kitchen employee’s frequency of turnover. The study shows that relationships between the employees and their superior, their income in comparison with their workload, and their level of education play a major role in determining whether they will keep on staying with the organization or move on to a better paying, more satisfying work environment or seek much better opportunities in other

organization. Another aspect that seems to play a major role in kitchen staff turnover is the time duration they have been in the industry. It seems that the longer they are in the hotel industry, the more committed and loyal they are in their current workplace compared to those that have been in the industry for less than 5 years. Those holding positions of Demi Chef or higher seems to be working longer in their current workplace compared to the lower level kitchen staff. In a study by McGuire, Houser, Jarrar, Moy and Wall 2003, discovered that while money and incentives seem to be an important aspect in retaining employees in their workplace, they also found that job satisfaction does not necessarily come from these two aspects. Instead, they found that respect, recognition, supervisor support, and organization culture seems to be the reason employees stay longer in one particular organization. Some studies specifically addressed recognition by peers and supervisors as key indicators of how employees felt about their jobs (Chinnis et al) (2001), Cronin & Becherer (1999), Luthans (2000). Luthans (2000) found that "employees place high value on personalized, specific, and instant social rewards such as attention, recognition, and sincere appreciation. Kangas et al (1999) identified a supportive environment as the most important indicator of job satisfaction. In relation to all the previous studies, the findings of this study seems to correlate well with previous study that emphasizes supervisor support, attention, recognition and sincere appreciation which leads to job satisfaction. This particular study found that the relationship between the supervisor and the kitchen staff seems to be an important aspect in decreasing the rate of turnover in the kitchen, thus the findings seem to agree that while monetary benefits seems to be an important aspect in job satisfaction, it certainly is not the only aspect that an organization should look into in decreasing turnover. In another study by Mullins (1995), it was identified that remuneration and performance management is an important aspect of developing Human Resource practices towards retaining employees in the hotel industry. Thus, the findings of this study found that positions they hold which bring in better income can actually be substantiated by the previous study by Mullins (1995).

6. Conclusions

The finding of this study that examines employee turnover causes in the context of the kitchen department in the hotel industry seems to correlate with findings from other industries as well. The major findings seem to link other industries into the same route of employee turnover causes. In the kitchen context, the major aspect would be the relationship with the supervisor, which is perceived as very important in gaining job satisfaction. Relationship with the supervisor also means that they are gaining recognition, appreciation and attention from their supervisor. On the other hand, income seems to play a major role in many industries in terms of employee turnover. However, since income and position seems to come hand in hand in the context of the kitchen department, positions could not be denied as an important aspect in retaining employees, thus it is strongly recommended that a clear and attainable route towards promotion of the kitchen staff is developed in order to retain them in the organization which is far better than to select, interview, recruit, train and develop new personnel in the kitchen which could lead to much more work and expenses. On the other hand, since those that have been in the industry for more than 5 years seems to be having a better grip in the organization they are working with, it can only be said that it is due to the fact that they tend to settle or work longer in their current workplace since it is more secure and they don't have the drive to travel more in their career. However, these facts need to be substantiated more in further studies which should be undertaken in order to explore furthermore the hotel industry in Malaysia in general and the kitchen department in specific.

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Correlations

		train	intention	progress	lafter	buildc	rolel	negative	positive
train	Pearson Correlation	1	.150**	-.054	.558**	-.061	-.262**	.369**	.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.004	.169	.000	.139	.000	.000	.496
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
intention	Pearson Correlation	.150**	1	-.375**	-.333**	.640**	.689**	-.319**	.021
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.004	.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.353
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
progress	Pearson Correlation	-.054	-.375**	1	.071	-.270**	-.190**	.203**	.014
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.169	.000	.	.102	.000	.000	.000	.403
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
lafter	Pearson Correlation	.558**	-.333**	.071	1	-.371**	-.603**	.671**	.155**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.102	.	.000	.000	.000	.003
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
buildc	Pearson Correlation	-.061	.640**	-.270**	-.371**	1	.727**	-.358**	-.262**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.139	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.000
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
rolel	Pearson Correlation	-.262**	.689**	-.190**	-.603**	.727**	1	-.483**	-.139**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.006
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
negative	Pearson Correlation	.369**	-.319**	.203**	.671**	-.358**	-.483**	1	.397**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
positive	Pearson Correlation	.000	.021	.014	.155**	-.262**	-.139**	.397**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.496	.353	.403	.003	.000	.006	.000	.
	N	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

A Corpus-based Study of Errors in Chinese English Majors' English Writing

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Abstract

On the basis of the corpus of English Majors' Composition of Ludong University (EMC corpus), this thesis analyzes the errors in Chinese English Majors' English writing and the reasons resulting in the errors. The research reveals that in the EMC corpus the proportion of "grammatical errors" ranks the highest, followed by "wrong usage", "syntactic errors" and "errors of discourse constructions and content"; with the increasing time of learning, learners' language proficiency has improved and is reflected by their error rate which has been decreasing year by year. Concerning the errors in English writing, this thesis proposes some corresponding strategies to reduce errors and improve the teaching of English writing.

Keywords: English writing, Error analysis, Comparison, Strategies

1. Introduction

English writing is a highly integrated and practical course, which has become increasingly important. The training of it effectively promotes learners' comprehensive ability to acquire English.

Error Analysis (EA) is one of the first methods used to investigate language. In an early, seminal article *The Significance of Learners' Errors*, Corder (1967) noted that errors could be significant in three ways: 1) they provided the teacher with information about how much the learner had learnt; 2) they provided the researcher with evidence of how language was learnt, and 3) they served as devices by which the learner discovered the results of the target language.

Consequently, in recent years, many scholars have analyzed errors in English writing. Zhang Xiaolan (2004) studies errors in English writing based on EA, while her research lacks the support of corpus. Nie Qilong (2005) also does research on this topic, but his analysis lacks strategies to avoid errors. On the basis of the corpus of English Majors' Composition of Ludong University (EMC corpus), this thesis analyzes the errors in English writing, and provides some effective strategies to improve the teaching level.

2. Research design

Corder (1974) suggested the following steps in EA research: 1) collection of a sample of learner language; 2) identification of errors; 3) description of errors; 4) explanation of errors; 5) evaluation of errors. This research design follows the five steps of EA.

2.1 Objectives of the Research

- 1) What are the general features of errors in Chinese English majors's English writing?
- 2) What are the reasons for those errors?

3) What are the developmental features of errors in different grades?

4) What are the reasons for those developmental features?

2.2 Corpus

The corpus consists of compositions of English Majors in Ludong University. The compositions originate from the final exam on comprehensive English of Grade 2008, 2007 and 2006 respectively in the first semester of the school year 2008-2009. The token of the corpus is 87,606 words, with 31,348 words in Grade 2008, 30,381 words in Grade 2007, and 25,877 words in Grade 2006.

2.3 Data Collecting Method

Four steps are included. In the first place, compositions are input into computers manually and saved as documents (.txt), and after a random sampling check, the accurate rate of the input is 100 percent. Secondly, all the errors found in the compositions are collected and classified into four categories, which are “Errors of words”, “Grammatical errors”, “Syntactic errors”, and “Errors of discourse constructions and content”. Last but not least, data are collected and calculated and features revealed. Some typical examples of errors are as follows:

1) Misuse of words

Errors focus on wrong usage, wrong collocation, wordiness, wrong part of speech, misuse of articles, ambiguous pronouns, and so on.

(1) From all these aspects we can use conclude that, the “Car-free Day” isn’t worthwhile. (wrong usage).

(2) No cars will run in the roads. (wrong collocation)

(3) In my opinion, I think confidence and self-confidence are of great importance.(wordiness)

(4) Everyone who wants to success should try the best to become a confidence man.(wrong part of speech)

(5) Only in this way, can a people become more skillful.(misuse of articles)

(6) We share the shine and of everyday, but when we meet the wind and rain or even storm, you should think this way: “It’s a natural thing. I can make it.”(ambiguous pronouns)

2) Grammatical errors

Grammatical errors consist in punctuation, spelling, tense, agreement, and voice errors, etc.

(7) Today, with the rapid development of economy,_The private cars are increasing rapidly. (punctuation errors)

(8) Bill Gates has not finish his education in university. (tense errors)

(9) It provides us with energy and help us make progress. (agreement errors)

(10) People will go to work by buses or subways, and the traffic jam will be solve efficiently. (voice errors)

(11) The proportion of spelling mistakes is very large in learners’ compositions.

3) Syntactic errors

This is mainly about Chinglish, wrong sentence structure, wrong dangling modifiers and ambiguous sentence.

(12) For example, our government can make related rules to control the number of cars or some traffic rules. (Chinglish)

(13) Without the day, people won’t able to realize the importance of the problem. (wrong sentence structure)

(14) At the age of six, my father bought my first present, a car-model. (wrong dangling modifiers)

(15) They let me know that there was still something that I met difficulties. (ambiguous sentence)

4) Errors of discourse constructions and content

Errors are mainly concerning digression, incoherence, inconsistency and inanity. An essay with the title “Is Car-free Day Worthwhile?” in the corpus is taken for an example.

Is “Car-free Day” Worthwhile?

“Car-free Day” would bring a lot of problems for us, so I don’t think “Car-free Day” is worthwhile.

The aim of “Car-free Day” is to encourage citizens to go out to release themselves, so on that day, there would be too many cars on the street. This will bring us many bad effects. First, it may cause traffic jam. ... As you know, traffic jam is a waste of time and energy. Second, it would cause traffic more accidents. ...If it happens an accident, it will be sorrowful or the drivers and their family. Third, air polution will increase. On that day, the drivers don’t care about the money, so they would drive their cars all the day long. It will not only waste energy, but also cause the air polution.

Above all, ... So I don't agree that "Car-free Day" is worthwhile.

The key words of this passage are "Car-free Day" and "Worthwhile", and the theme is that whether "Car-free Day" is worthwhile. Firstly, the student mistakes "Car-free Day" as "a day in which cars can go anywhere freely", which results in the whole passage digressing from the subject. Secondly, the first sentence which means drivers can release themselves and the last three sentences of the second paragraph with the meaning that drivers do not care about money are ambiguous. In addition, the main point of the last three sentences of the second paragraph is "air pollution", but the student also mentions "waste energy". That is a specific example of incoherence and inconsistency. Finally, any of the problems referred above leads to inanity.

3. Data Analysis and Discussion

The following part is a general data analysis of EMC corpus and comparison between different grades in EMC corpus together with the reasons resulting in errors.

3.1 General Data Discussion and Reason Analysis

Based on the classification of all the errors, the proportion of both the error category and the error item is clearly demonstrated, and through analyzing the data, main reasons resulting in the errors are going to be found.

3.1.1 Data Discussion

In Table 1, the figures in column "Proportion" are the percentage resulting from dividing all the times of each "Error item" by the times of all the errors. The figures in column "Total" equal the sum of the proportion of each error item belonging to that same error category.

Insert Table 1 Here

Table 1 reveals that the proportion of "Wrong usage", "Grammatical errors", "Syntactic errors" and "Errors of discourse constructions and content" is 23.46%, 55.38%, 19.13% and 2.03% respectively. The proportion of "Grammatical errors" ranks the highest, accounting for 55.38%, followed by "Wrong usage (23.46%)" and "Syntactic errors (19.13%)", and the lowest is "Errors of discourse constructions and content (2.03%)".

The toppest ten proportion of errors in "Error item" (See Table 1 boldface) is 29.3% (Spelling errors), 11.48% (Agreement errors), 8.14% (Wrong sentence structure), 6.26% (Wrong collocation), 5.99% (Chinglish), 4.99% (Wrong usage), 4.84% (Ambiguous sentence), 4.8% (Wrong Part of speech), 4.79% (Tense errors) and 4.65% (Punctuation errors). The ten error items account for 47.6% of all the twenty-one error items, but their total error proportion is 85.24% of the proportion of all the errors. That is to say, the errors in writing concentrate on "Grammatical errors (55.38%)" ("Punctuation errors", 4.65%; "Spelling errors", 29.3%; "Tense errors", 4.97%; "Agreement errors", 11.48%); "Syntactic errors (18.97%)" ("Chinglish", 5.99%; "Wrong sentence structure", 8.14%; "Ambiguous sentence", 4.84%) and "Errors of words (16.05%)" ("Wrong usage", 4.99%; "Wrong Part of speech", 6.26%; "Wrong collocation", 4.80%).

3.1.2 Reason Analysis

Among the many reasons leading to errors, vocabulary and the influence of negative transfer of mother tongue are on the top of the list.

3.1.2.1 Vocabulary

In Table 1, errors caused by the improper usage of words are the most, including "Spelling errors (29.3%)", "Wrong collocation (6.26%)", "Wrong usage (4.99%)", "Wrong part of speech (4.8%)", "Chinglish (5.99%)", "Ambiguous sentence (4.84%)" and "Digression (0.62%)". The proportion of the seven error items totals 51.96%, accounting for more than half of the proportion of all the errors. The problems of vocabulary mainly result from spelling errors, small vocabulary and inaccurate usage.

1) The proportion of "Spelling errors" is the highest in all the error items (29.3%), taking almost one third of the whole proportion. Owning to learners' poor basic skills, the tension in examinations, or lacking enough time to check, there are many spelling errors. In addition, some learners tend to use long and complicated words, which they are not familiar with. Consequently, many spelling errors emerge.

2) Many learners tend to depend too much on their textbook, ignoring or having little interest in extensive reading, so that their vocabulary is rather limited. In addition, the process of memorizing English words bores some learners, which also causes small vocabulary. The result is it's difficult for learners to find proper words to express themselves, which easily brings "Wrong usage". Besides, because of small vocabulary, learners could not figure out the implication of some words and often mistake the meaning. For example, the title of the composition for Grade Two is "Is 'Car-free Day' Worthwhile?", and many mistake "car-free" for "cars can be used freely", resulting in digression.

3) Many learners just pay attention to the Chinese meaning of words, while ignore the part of speech, the usage and the collocation of words, which often leads to “Wrong usage”, “Wrong part of speech” and “Wrong collocation”.

4) Because of the reasons of both small vocabulary and inaccurate usage of words, learners usually either feel hard to find proper words to express themselves, or even though they have proper words, they do not know how to use them. That is why there are many errors like “Wrong usage”, “Wrong collocation”, “Chinglish” and “Ambiguous sentence”.

3.1.2.2 Influence of Negative Transfer of Mother Tongue

Negative transfer hampers learning. It occurs when the mother tongue interferes the foreign language learning, or the previous performance interrupts the performance on a second language and leads to errors. Foreign language learners often use mother tongue in learning, which results in errors or inappropriate forms in the target language. Negative transfer as a phenomenon, exists in second language acquisition. Its influence permeates many aspects in teaching and learning with the following two most distinctive.

1) Negative transfer in word-usage

Negative transfer in word-usage is mainly manifested in that the learners whose mother tongue is Chinese unconsciously tend to find equivalents in English words. However, there are not absolutely equivalents between Chinese and English in many cases, and even though the meanings of words are similar, their usage or implications are distinct. In fact, learners often ignore this, which leads to “Wrong usage”. Take some specifics to illustrate this situation. Firstly, there are a lot of collective nouns in English, and the indefinite article cannot modify them, which differs from Chinese. For instance, the sentence “Confidence is a spirit of a people.” is wrong in English because the indefinite article “a” cannot modify the collective word “people”. In addition, some learners are apt to copy mechanically and apply indiscriminately in the usage of words, for example, “pao che” should be “sports car” in English instead of a literal mechanical translation “run car”. Furthermore, the style meaning of words is different between Chinese and English, while some learners often neglect the commendatory and derogatory implication of words. For example, the word “busybody”, meaning “a person who is meddlesome”, is derogatory in English rather than the commendatory meaning of “a man who is very busy at work” in Chinese. Finally, confusing the part of speech will cause “Wrong part of speech”, for example, “What kind of live do you want to live?” is wrong because the first “live” is a verb.

2) Negative transfer in sentence structure

In the process of acquiring sentence structure English learners overlook the differences between the two languages and inevitably are influenced by mother tongue, which causes grammatical and syntactic errors. English is featured by hypotaxis, and there are many peculiar forms as tense, voice, and countable or uncountable nouns, etc, while Chinese is featured by parataxis, and has few of morphological changes; besides, English sentences focus on integrity and logic, but the Chinese ones are loose and not rigorous; attributives especially the long attributive clauses are usually placed after the headword in English, instead of being in front of the headword in Chinese; there are nominative case and objective case in English but there's no such cases in Chinese; English writing is developed following the order of time and place, but the Chinese writing is often developed in a reverse order. Consequently, if learners are not aware of these differences, they are quite likely to be influenced by their mother tongue, and inevitably make grammatical and syntactic errors in English writing.

3.2 Comparison of Three Grades and Reason Analysis

In Table 2, figures in column “Grade 1” are the percentage resulting from dividing all the times of each “Error item” in Grade 1 by the times of all the errors of the three grades, and the same method works out the figures in columns “Grade 2” and “Grade 3”.

Insert Table 2 Here

Firstly, Table 2 tells that the total error proportion from Grade One to Grade Three is 44.71%, 39.89% and 15.40% respectively (See Table 2 “Total”), which shows it is in a gradually decreasing trend as a whole. The proportion of each error item and the toppest ten proportion also decrease gradually, and the exceptions will be explained in the following. This result shows that with the increasing time of learning learners' language proficiency has been improving step by step and the errors they make have been decreasing year by year.

Secondly, on one hand, in the “Error category”, the proportion of “Wrong usage” (12.95%>7.63%>2.88%) and “Syntactic errors” (10.14%>6.99%>2.0%) is also decreasing from Grade One to Grade Three. But the proportion of Grade Two (24.27%) in “Grammatical errors” is the highest, followed by Grade One (20.74%), and Grade Three is the lowest (10.37%). The same exists in the proportion of error items “Punctuation errors”, “Spelling errors”, “Agreement errors”, “Voice errors” in “Grammatical errors”, i.e. the proportion of Grade Two is the largest, and then Grade One, and Grade Three is the lowest. The reason of the rebound of errors in Grade Two can be attributed to the following. Grammatical knowledge that freshmen possessed is very simple which is taught in senior middle school. The sentence structures and words freshmen used are relatively simple, and they can master them well, so that the proportion of

“Grammatical errors” of is less than that of Grade Two. Learners of Grade Two in the first semester have had grammatical course for one semester after their entrance to university. However, because of the short period of learning time and the large amount of grammatical knowledge, most learners have not had a comprehensive grasp. With complicated process and further learning of grammar, the proportion of errors of Grade Two is the highest. Through further grammatical learning in the second semester of Grade Two and the consolidation of knowledge in the first semester of Grade Three, the performance in using grammar has improved, so that errors of Grade Three are less than those of Grade Two and One. On the other hand, in accordance with the normal acquisition, errors should decrease with the increasing learning period. However, the proportion of “Digression” ($0.50\% > 0.08\% > 0.04\%$) and “Inconsistency” ($0.31\% > 0.08\% = 0.08\%$) in Grade Two is higher than that of Grade One and Grade Three. This abnormality originates from the title of the composition for Grade Two—“Is Car-free Day Worthwhile?”. Some learners mistake “Car-free Day” for “a day when cars can be used freely”. This misunderstanding leads to “Digression” and “Inconsistency”. In such a case, the proportion of “Errors of discourse constructions and content” rebounded in Grade Two.

Thirdly, the proportion in “Error category” is all in decreasing trend except for “Grammatical errors” and “Errors of discourse constructions and content”, and the reasons are explained above. This proves again that with the increasing time of learning learners’ language proficiency has improved and the errors they make have been decreasing year by year.

Fourthly, taken only the proportion rates that are more than 1% into consideration, the number of items from Grade One to Grade Three is 12, 10 and 4 respectively, exhibiting a progressive decrease. This indicates that along with the improving quality of language using of learners, the error rate also decreases gradually both as a whole and in detail, and their language becomes more and more standardized.

Finally, among the ten items that rank the highest proportion in Table 1, eight belong to the highest ten as for proportion in Table 2 (See Table 2 boldface). This demonstrates that though the error rates decrease gradually, the fundamental problems leading to errors, especially the simple errors of “Spelling errors” and “Agreement errors” have never been solved obviously. Therefore, it is very important for teachers to pay attention to the teaching of elementary English knowledge and the training of basic skills to help learners to enhance their English writing.

4. Implication for English Teaching

The process of learning English as a foreign language is actually a process of making errors, correcting errors and promoting the acquisition level. The objectives of error analysis are to show the problems existing in the process of learning so as to correct them timely, and to adopt effective proposals in future teaching and learning to avoid errors. To realize such a goal, English teaching can be improved in the following aspects.

4.1 Strengthening Language Teaching of Basic Knowledge

Teachers should strengthen teaching elementary knowledge especially vocabulary and grammar to make learners consolidate the basic knowledge. Besides, on the basis of the requirement of the teaching syllabus, teachers should guide learners to formulate appropriate learning strategies combining their own characteristics to master the rudiments better.

On one hand, in vocabulary, teachers should consciously teach the connotation, collocation and the usage of words, so as to train learners study and use words in context; guide learners to reinforcing the spelling and usage of words through images or word formation or associative memory to ensure a better command; strengthen supervision and regular inspection to ensure that learners absorb the knowledge timely and put the knowledge into practice. On the other hand, in grammar, firstly, teachers should focus on the explanation of grammatical differences between Chinese and English. In addition, for some basic and important grammar points, teachers should illustrate thoroughly in class and give assignments after class. It is necessary to help learners actively summarize grammatical rules and use them in speaking and writing on the basis of understanding. In the end, teachers can diversify assignments and let learners check their homework with each other, and thus the quality of training and feedback is guaranteed.

4.2 Utilizing Positive Transfer of Mother Tongue

As what’s mentioned above, mother tongue plays a very important role in English teaching and learning. In the process of learning a new language, English learners will inevitably draw upon their mother tongue, especially in the beginning. For instance, in writing an English composition, many learners would think in Chinese about what to write and then translate their “mother tongue thoughts” into English. Some learners say that it is easier for them to memorize the context by mentally translating each sentence into Chinese. With no doubt, foreign language learners employed some transfer strategies in their English learning. But only when the strategies are used properly, will they facilitate the language learning. Therefore, teachers of English are expected to give learners guides to make good use of positive transfer. The following are some methods.

4.2.1 Translation and Back Translation

Teachers of English should design some specific translating exercises in the form of either English to Chinese or Chinese to English. It is an effective way to raise learners' awareness of the differences between two languages at lexical, syntactical, and textual level.

This way at least has three advantages. The first is it lays emphasis on key points to which learners should pay attention. Second, it's helpful for learners who are not familiar with the sentences' structure. Third, it helps learners grasp different structures between mother tongue and the target language. In the process of doing these exercises, learners should not search for one-for-one equivalents between Chinese and English, but be encouraged to think in target language, and errors like "Chinglish" and "Ambiguous sentences" can be avoided.

4.2.2 Bilingual Extensive Reading

It is generally agreed that one of the effective ways to learn foreign language well is extensive reading, which also increases learners' interest. On the basis of this, English learners should be encouraged to read extensively, which enlarges vocabulary, provides information of the cultures of foreign countries and helps learners form the habit of thinking in English. Learners had better choose bilingual reading materials with Chinese version attached and read them within a certain period of time. Bilingual reading is necessary for English learners in that, first, learners can learn many words through reading, and use dictionaries to master the usage of them afterwards. In this way learners will not make mistakes like "Wrong usage", "Inanity", and "Digress". For example, if learners often read extensively, it is quite likely for them to know the meaning of "car-free", and they will not misunderstand it or make mistakes like "Digression" and "Inanity"; second, the Chinese version helps learners understand complicated sentences by analyzing different sentence structures between the two languages, and by comparison, learners will find out similarities and differences between the two languages, avoiding the "syntactic errors" and "Chinglish" in writing; third, bilingual reading enlarges the eyesight of learners and provides them with rich materials for writing, and thus decreases the errors of inanity. Meanwhile, teachers should give learners some guidance on how to do bilingual reading. For example, teachers should tell learners to consult the Chinese version only after they have made an effort but failed to guess the meaning of new words. Besides, teachers should advise learners to take some notes in the process of reading, which are very useful in writing compositions.

4.3 Countermeasures against Negative Transfer

Negative transfer is not simply an error, though it may result in errors in most cases. Based on this point, a proper attitude towards it should be developed. Teachers should not only point out learners' errors when they commit negative transfer, but also make students clearly know the reasons for their errors and provide ways to conquer negative transfer, such as encouraging learners to think in English and using proper dictionaries.

4.3.1 Encouraging Learners to Think in English

It is observed that many Chinese English majors produced sentences revealing negative transfer, because they put the Chinese ideas in their mind first, and then translate them into English. This easily brings about errors of choice of words, intra-sentence order and discourse, Chinglish, and incoherence. Teachers should encourage learners to think in English in the beginning, and assist them in forming such a habit, so that learners have no chance to translate their "Chinese thoughts" into English, and some errors, especially "Chinglish" will be effectively avoided. Achieving this requires combined effort of both teachers and learners.

4.3.2 Using Proper Dictionaries

Dictionaries that learners use play a crucial role in their process of foreign language acquisition. Using proper dictionaries in different stages of learning helps learners master words efficiently. An English-Chinese dictionary serves as a good teacher at the very beginning, but at the advanced stages, it seems unable to serve the whole end.

For example, at the beginning, when learners meet the word "shiver", the English-Chinese dictionary presents the Chinese meaning of "chan dou" that is easy to remember. But later, when they meet the word "tremble", which has the same Chinese meaning, they will be confused by the two synonyms. In this case, the English-English dictionary is effective in that, the explanations of the two words in *Langman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2004:1772, 1516) are as follows:

Tremble: a slight shaking happening in a way that you cannot control, esp., because you are upset or angry.

Shiver: a slight movement of your body caused by cold or fear.

After reading these explanations, learners may be clearly aware of the meaning of these two similar words. An English-English dictionary is helpful in advanced learning. Thus it is strongly recommended that language learners use different kinds of dictionaries following different learning stages. It helps solving the problem of misuse of words.

5. Conclusion

A general analysis of the corpus reveals that the proportion of “grammatical errors” ranks the highest, with the proportion of “errors of words”, “syntactic errors” and “errors of discourse constructions and content” the second, third and last. This situation roots in small vocabulary and the influence of negative transfer of mother tongue. In the perspective of three grades, errors made by Grade 1 are the most; errors of Grade 2 are less and errors of Grade 3 are the least. It tells that errors tend to become less and less with English majors’ language proficiency becoming better and better.

The implications of this thesis for the teaching of English writing are as follows: 1) strengthening the teaching of basic knowledge; 2) making good use of positive transfer; 3) adopting countermeasures against negative transfer.

Error analysis of English writing is a very complicated research. This research is based on the corpus of argumentative essays, which might lead to some kinds of errors appearing too much and others too little. For this reason, the results of this research should be further proved by the corpus of other types of writing.

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Table 1. Proportional distribution of all the errors in E corpus

Error category	Error item	Proportion	Total
Errors of words	Wrong usage	4.99%	23.46%
	Wrong collocation	6.26%	
	Wordiness	1.73%	
	Wrong Part of speech	4.80%	
	Misusage of articles	2.12%	
	Ambiguous pronouns	1.92%	
	Other	1.66%	
Grammatical errors	Punctuation errors	4.65%	55.38%
	Spelling errors	29.3%	
	Tense errors	4.79%	
	Agreement errors	11.48%	
	Voice errors	1.35%	
	Other	3.81%	
Syntactic errors	Chinglish	5.99%	19.13%
	Wrong sentence structure	8.14%	
	Wrong dangling modifier	0.15%	
	Ambiguous sentence	4.84%	
Errors of discourse constructions and content	Digression	0.62%	2.03%
	Incoherence	0.50%	
	Inconsistency	0.47%	
	Inanity	0.47%	

Table 2. Proportional distribution of the errors of the three grades

Error category	Error item	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
Errors of words	Wrong usage	2.61%	1.77%	0.61%
	Wrong collocation	4.11%	1.61%	0.54%
	Wordiness	0.77%	0.58%	0.38%
	Wrong part of speech	2.73%	1.57%	0.50%
	Misuse of articles	1.08%	0.77%	0.27%
	Ambiguous pronouns	0.96%	0.73%	0.23%
	Other	0.71%	0.60%	0.35%
	Total errors of words	12.95%	7.63%	2.88%
Grammatical errors	Punctuation errors	1.89%	2.15%	0.61%
	Spelling errors	9.37%	14.67%	5.26%
	Tense errors	2.84%	0.61%	1.34%
	Agreement errors	4.26%	4.8%	2.42%
	Voice errors	0.50%	0.77%	0.08%
	Other	1.89%	1.27%	0.65%
	Total grammatical errors	20.74%	24.27%	10.37%
Syntactic errors	Chinglish	3.34%	2.19%	0.46%
	Wrong sentence structure	4.11%	2.92%	1.11%
	Wrong dangling modifier	0.15%	0.00%	0.00%
	Ambiguous sentence	2.53%	1.89%	0.42%
	Total syntactic errors	10.14%	6.99%	2.0%
Errors of discourse constructions and content	Digression	0.08%	0.50%	0.04%
	Incoherence	0.38%	0.12%	0.00%
	Inconsistency	0.08%	0.31%	0.08%
	Inanity	0.35%	0.08%	0.04%
	Total errors of discourse constructions and content	0.88%	1.00%	0.154%
Total		44.71%	39.89%	15.40%



Promoting Transformative Learning of Preservice Teacher through Contemplative Practices

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Abstract

Preservice teacher is an important role to fulfill quality of education in the future. They have to be initially grown transformative learning for helping students to aware knowing and nature of knowledge. This paper explores an application of contemplative practices, which enhance transformative learning of preservice teachers. Forty four preservice teachers were participated and reflected their transformative learning through contemplative pedagogy. The result can be discussed and provide future suggestion for teacher preparation program.

Keywords: Transformative learning, Contemplative practices, Contemplative pedagogy, Preservice teacher, Teacher preparation

1. Introduction

Mezirow's research in the early 1990s, raised transformative learning in conscious-raising, critical reflection, development, or individuation (Dirkx, 1998). Much research on strategies and approaches for fostering and promoting transformative learning (Nelson, 2006). More teachers begin to integrate meditation techniques with their curricula. They have little relationship to their learning process with what they learn is limited. Transformative learning is the process by which question taken of mindsets more inclusive, discriminating and open. It is about awaking learners and getting them engaged. Mezirow (2000) defined transformative learning as changing a frame of reference, which is made up of two dimensions: a habit of mind and resulting points of view. It may occur when learners reflect on the assumptions of others or on one's own assumptions.

Transformative learning relates to education of the whole person and includes the development of insight as much as knowledge (Gunnlaugson, 2009). It is based on personal experience, but it can draw inspiration and guidance from many fragments, including ancient wisdom traditions, philosophy, social sciences, and the arts. It gives students inspiration and confidence to explore their individuality which they connectedness to others and the world (Sable, 2007).

Mezirow (1991) described cognitive and behavioral changes that characterize transformative learning as following;

- when one experiences an enhanced level of awareness of the context of one's beliefs and feelings, when one can critique one's own assumptions and particular premises
- when one performs an assessment of alternative perspectives

- when one makes a decision to negate an old perspective in favor of a new one or when one makes synthesis of old and new
- when one takes action based on new perspective
- when one cultivates a desire to fit the new perspective into the broader context of one's life

Contemplative practices are systematic methods of invoking heightened states of consciousness or awareness (Sarah, 2003). It can be drawn contemplative practices in that ways involve learning infused with the experience of awareness, insight and compassion for oneself and others through the practice of contemplative disciplines. Contemplative practices are essential tools in the process of education in terms of teacher preparation to become the best teacher, student and human being one can be. It is not just about the content of the subject and the teaching methods or strategies, but also about the people with whom we are working and the academic components (Mackler *et.al.*, 2008).

In the relation to promote transformative learning in terms of teacher preparation program, it needs to adopt contemplative practices that consciously directing attention to the state of consciousness and connecting to extraordinary clarity, insight, and inner calm. If it is appropriately applied, it will function for different purposes at different levels. Also, it is a way to quiet the mind and promote concentration, empathy, perceptual, acuity, and reduce anxiety and stress (Hart, 2004). Therefore, classroom can integrate contemplation into the content of courses for more effective learning. Meaningful teaching and learning implies being truly present and engaged with people and with the subject.

All above-mentioned strongly support that contemplative practices, the ever lasting wisdom and devices on broadening the scope of human development. It has a great value and significant role to play in teacher preparation program particularly, teaching for transformation.

2. Methodology

In this study, the term “contemplative practice” is used as a variety of reflective practices that were intended to cultivate or enhance transformative learning. Qualitative frameworks with an inductive, descriptive, phenomenological method were employed. The study began exploring pedagogical methods to cultivate transformative learning for preservice teachers in course foundations of educational philosophy, enrolled in the first semester, academic year 2009. Participants were 44 teacher students which subject to apply contemplative practices. They have to learn fourteen week or 42-hour classes, learn to fulfill human values and contemplation education with many learning activities.

Methods to lead students have transformation including formless meditation practice, personal journals, journal reading, role-playing with ethical drama, active listening, and facilitated class discussions. Data collection procedures involved participant observation classroom. The focus group was interviewed after class finished. Meaning of transformative learning were analyzed the concepts in transformative learning theory.

Formless meditation: Meditation in this context is not particularly a religious practice. It means training one's attention to be focused on the present and open. Basic instruction was given a few times in class. Students were encouraged to try the practice on their own, on a daily basis. Students inevitably experienced thoughts, feelings, etc., that form the filter of ordinary consciousness. Students in this class are commonly reported at least some of the cognitive and behavioral changes associated with transformative learning.

Personal journals: Students are encouraged to make short journal entries (a page or less) each time. They are encouraged to include questions, paradoxes, or whatever comes from their own experiences. The point here is to train the mind to greater observation in the present moment, encourage inquiry, and allow genuine insights to emerge, rather than fall back on habitual patterns of response.

Journal reading: Students read their journals to each other in groups. The discussion that ensues within the small group has been left completely open. Also, experiment with more structured approaches, including active listening and inquiry techniques. Short periods seemed more beneficial than longer periods because students wanted to move into free form discussion.

Role-playing with ethical drama: Students make a discussion about some case or situation that concerns ethical analysis. They have to prepare scripts and materials to share and express comprehension on human value and ways to do good things in society at all level. They learn to have intra- and inter-personal dimensions for construct story based on merit story and do a story telling with individual competency.

Active listening: Active listening acts students as reader and the listener often find it instructive to discover mindset through analytical thinking process. This technique requires the listener to become more aware of their assumptions and projections as they listen and also tends to ensure depth of understanding.

Facilitated class discussions: After small groups have finished, a spokesperson in each group summarizes their responses to contemplation in a whole class. The instructor leads a discussion using the words and insights of the

students. The instructor encourages the students to explore their own language, and engage students to explore the meaning and implications of the subject matter. This technique tends to engage students respect, share, and explore meaningful learning.

3. Results

This study indicates that a clear majority of preservice teachers show increasingly characteristics associated with transformative learning. Preservice teachers raised their opinions about contemplative practice influencing their change in mind and will to learn. The activities lead them to create new ways to think and promote worldviews of inner change. They have to adapt their mind and behavior to survive with others that surround them, contemplative practices can change their world based on systematic thinking especially new paradigm of instruction in the changing world.

Preservice teachers generate and express their opinion based on self reflection which relevant to useful of contemplative pedagogy on learning outcomes. All of them showed positive domain of perception about class of contemplative practices. It stimulates inner perception in each level and enhances eager to know what they have learned by beginning with “what do I learn?”, “how do I learn?”, and “why do I learn to be teacher?”. Preservice teachers try to answer themselves based on thinking and doing through contemplation.

“Still awareness open windows opportunity to learn new things” Ruthairat

“Learning activities help me to practice ways of thinking, to conceptualize understanding of education, and principle to live with others in the concurrent society” Nikom

“I learn what the meaning of education is, and also what ways we should be done for professional teachers. I am not shy to express my opinions with others, dare to share ideas including love to think about knowledge” Mesa

“I think, it is very useful for learning how to survive in a modern society. I have to learn by sharing knowledge, caring mind, taking positive thinking, and having a reason before to do something” Khaekamon

“Before course begins, I hate someone and no need to talk with, but now I have learned and changed my mind to live with them by employing reason than those before” Sasisakoon

“Learning activities allowed me to think in deeply meanings, learn to read and listen more than talk a lot” Aroonwan

“I have just received inspiration through some word of instructor to do the best, think positively, and change my life in forward” Aroonwan

These phenomena can reflect what preservice have learned by employing contemplative practices in the terms of tools to promote transformative learning. They have been transforming way of learning paradigm. They need more answer why people surroundings give them with different answering. Contemplation help them to understand why people think and act diversely in the same situation. Preservice teachers learn to develop positive thinking and transform feeling, perceiving, understanding, and doing to people around them. They learn to study the value of human being, reflect value of the self, and ready to expose any situation.

The results of contemplative practice in teacher students classroom can be listed. They explained that contemplation can shift their learning paradigm, it can change the old to the new ways of learning perception;

- can help them to make contemplation and sensual learning through inner perception
- provide alternatives to live with others based on inner mediation and deep merit
- stimulate systematic thinking and holistic view to survive in different situation
- learn to have self-efficacy to do a merit and ready to support people do the best
- make dialogue based on reasoned argumentation
- dare to express ideas and feelings in positive domain and have deep listening with others
- learn to share and love others by no means of rewards

The effect of contemplative practices or mindfulness-based instruction can reduce classroom climate stress, enhance teaching and learning process and students’ ability to focus their attention, and promote caring mind and concern for others. Contemplative practices can be successfully introduced outside of their spiritual context toward others surround them. Teacher students were engaged in transformative learning appear in the comments. Yet comments such as, “This was the first time I had to think!”, “I have just found ways to be a good teacher”, “This course fulfill my mind and life to live with others”, and “This course has changed my life” are inspired instructor to incorporate contemplative practices into another course.

4. Discussion

Students learn positive ways of thinking and doing in classroom, and it also influence their life even though out of classroom. They are deeply appreciated to have more experiential, transformative, and reflective learning (Zajonc,

2006). They have small group responses to the contemplation of what they heard and perceived. The purpose of facilitated class discussion is to engage students to explore the meaning and implications of the subject matter. It tends to engage students readily, since their own contributions are being respected, shared, explored, and put in the context of the learning objectives. They have to reflect what they perceived in positive ways. Reflection can result in deeper learning not only about the subject studied but also about the learner.

Moreover, critical reflection can challenge embedded assumptions, beliefs, and values. A major focus of the study is sharing specific examples of how and when to add introspective practice throughout a management course. Concerns about the consequences of opening up one's classroom for reflective learning are also discussed (Headberg, 2009). They are encouraged to make short journal and communication whatever comes from their own experiences to reflect what they have learned. Also, discussion that ensues within the small group including active listening and inquiry techniques seem to beneficial students move into free form discussion. They learn to listen and make a journal by beware of their assumptions and projections as they listen. They confirm their understanding through questions about the content and its meaning.

The result can be discussed that preservice teachers can reflect their own personal knowledge through a various kind of contemplative practices. Activities in classroom allow them to have contemplation and concern the meaning of transformative learning. Nuangchaler (2009) reported that preservice teachers reflect their own perception through meaningful learning in terms of social, cultural and personal frameworks. Contemplative practices can help students to go beyond a merely cognitive understanding of their responsibilities as global citizens, and to find an authentic motivation to serve (Kahane, 2009). This study answers contemplative practices can promote transformative learning. Teaching and learning process should begin to incorporate contemplative practices into pedagogy and curricula (Bai et.al., 2009). It concerns students about awaking learners and getting them engaged to learn congruence (Dirkx, 1998; Nelson, 2006). Contemplative practices should be invited into classroom by allowing new possibilities for the emergence of creativity and promotes depth of understanding and personal relationship with course content (Brady, 2007; Sun, 2007). It is not only fulfilling content students learned, but also human values are awareness. The results showed that contemplative practices can be used in classroom for teacher preparation program and human resources development for our society.

5. Conclusion

The new paradigm of learning in the age of global warming needs more contemplation about way to think and to do. Preservice teachers should be embedded transformative learning by means of holistic views to learn with others.. Contemplative practices are compatible with contemporary educational theory in that ways to support personal strengths. It requires to provide understanding the value of human being and to help students do their best with surroundings. Preservice teachers can increase well-being, freedom from anxiety, sharpened mental and other benefits from their contemplative practices. They can have opportunity to inspire doing with their best. Contemplative practices should be invited into classroom by allowing new possibilities for promoting depth of understanding and personal relationship with course content. It should be considered to implement for teacher preparation program.

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The Analysis of the Application of Classified Stock Ownership in Limited Liability Companies from the Point of the Split Share Structure Reform

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Abstract

The split share structure reform in listed companies has waned to the close by now. What kind of influence can this reform of stock ownership have is uncertain. However, it is obvious of the active significance this kind of classified treatment have on protecting the benefits of minority stock holders and stimulating assorted stockholder to exercise their power. What our essay lays importance on is that whether the stock ownership classification can be carried out definitely and widely in limited liability companies to protect the benefits of minority stock holders.

Keywords: Stock ownership classification, The protection of the benefits of minority stock holders

1. Introduction

The split share structure reform in listed companies is a process of eliminating the system difference of stock transfer in A-share under the mechanism of balanced benefits and negotiation. Through the split stock structure reform, it stabilizes and improves the corporate governance and capital operation mechanism, and it protects the benefits of minority stock holders and eliminates the dominant shareholder to consolidate the mutual benefits of all the stock holders. The differences of stock ownership aren't ignored because of reform, but is established step by step on the foundation of consolidating the mutual benefits of stock holders to realize the equality of stock ownership essentially: New Company Law article 127 In term of the same sort of stock distributed at a time, issue terms and price of per share should be same. The split stock structure reform in listed companies is envisaging the assorted classification of stock ownership, and it will establish a variety of stock ownership benefits step by step to balance assorted stock holders' benefits. Whether the theory of split stock structure can be applied widely in listed companies or whether it is necessary to apply this application worth considering deeply. The author of this essay just lists his ideas more or less on the basis of the hotspot of split stock structure reform to extract something more valuable and important.

2. The theoretical foundation of the application of classified stock ownership in limited liability company

2.1 Traditional theory

Stock ownership, is a conveyable right purchased by stock holders, by which stock holders can be involved in affairs and enjoy property interest in companies in a manner prescribed by law or under the regulation and procedures of articles of association. Make a general survey of discussion on the nature of stock ownership in our country, several theories have been formed.

A theory of ownership: It holds that stock holders enjoy the ownership in real rights towards their contribution.

A theory of creditor's rights: it holds that the substance of stock ownership is creditor's rights. The stock holders become the creditors of the companies when finishing their contribution to companies. Stock ownership is a kind of conditional creditor's rights of asking for profits.

A theory of the right of members: This theory is a general theory in German, Japan and other countries of Continental Legal System. And it is put forward by Germany scholar Penaud in 1875. It holds that stock ownership is a kind of right which the stock holders can enjoy, either does the membership identity the stock holders have in the profit-generating

collegiums. And the stock ownership belongs to one kind of the right of members, which consists of property rights and other rights of taking part in managing company affairs.

A theory of right of independence: It holds that stock ownership can only be a kind of self-contained independent rights type. What we called as stock ownership, is a conveyable right purchased by stock holders, by which stock holders can be involved in affairs and enjoy property interest in companies in a manner prescribed by law or under the regulation and procedures of articles of association.

Marxism said that, "every stock enjoys identical benefit, just as the proportional land of a member of Marc, the right and obligation of each stock can also be separated."The complexity and separability of the stock ownership make the major class features of the nature of stock ownership rather obvious.

2.2 The comparison of stock ownership between joint stock company and limited liability company

According to the phylogeny of forms of enterprise organization, stock company is the product of natural development, however, limited liability companies evolved on the basis of stock companies and partnership, which adopted the capital of stock companies and the personality of partnerships. We can know that clearly by comparing their content of stock ownership.

The differences reflected by personality: The ownership and management right in stock companies separate from each other, and the owner of the company is not the manager of the company. However, corporations, especially corporations in East Asia embody richer personality characteristics, making managers show different interest towards "commonweal rights".

The differences reflected by closure: The stock ownership of corporations is a holistic property rights. The stock owners are difficult to make profits by making use of stock ownership independently, which makes stock owners show different inclinations towards profit sharing and other so-called personal profit rights.

2.3 The legal basis of classified stock ownership in corporations

The legislation in our country has made clear regulation on classified treatment of the stock ownership in corporations. Company Law Article 127th holds that: the distribution of stocks should be under the principle of fairness and justice, per share of the same sort should enjoy identical rights.

Article 33 Shareholder shall get dividends in proportion to the amount of investment they have made. If a company wants to increase its capital, its shareholders have the priority of subscription..But, it is to the exclusion that if all the shareholders come to a agreement that they don't get dividends in proportion to the amount of investment they have made or its shareholders don't have the priority of subscription.

According to the explanation supreme court had made about marriage law II Article 26th: When referring to making a partition of community property, according to the amount of investment of one side in limited liability company, on the condition that the other side is not the stockholder of this company, the couple both sides come to a agreement transfer the investment to the spouse for a section of it or all of it. Under the consent of more than half of the shareholders, on the condition that other shareholders show their willingness of giving up the privilege of purchasing the stock, the spouse of this couple can be the shareholder of this company. Apparently, here, we use the voting system of one man one vote, which is we called a kind of human joining voting system relative to join assets. The co-existing of two voting system brings shareholders different right of voting gained by the same investment. And this kind of difference is the foundation of classified treatment of stock ownership.

As we can see, in many areas, legislation has admitted the existence of classified stock ownership in corporations, and its first appearance in legal practice happened a long time ago.

Draw on the experience of foreign legislative on share distribution.

Today, the development of society goes more and more international, we certainly needn't toil at work and keep ourselves to ourselves, that is "test each step before taking it", From the research of law and the application of theory, we can draw on the legislation experience of some countries who have more mature development of law.

1). The comparison between our law and related Germany legislation

In the legislation in Germany, no matter from organization form or from shareholder responsibility, limited liability companies are more like partnerships rather than joint-stock company. Any one of the shareholders can't purchase more than one piece of basic contribution when establishing the company. One share should be possessed by several obligee without partition, which lead them to exercise their right together generated from it. The account payable which can not gain from some individual shareholder should be shared by other shareholders in proportion to their stock shares. The regulation of entity capital compensation is not suitable for those shareholders whose investment accounting for 10% or lower than 10% in the basic capital and those who don't practice their business.

The Law of Corporation in Germany clarified the concept of stock of different sorts and the regulation of board

members' have participation in the profit due to their operation: Board members can have participation in the profit due to their contribution of working, in addition, the board members are not necessary to be the stockholders of the company⁴. From the above, the Company Law in German has clarified the classification of stock ownership and the right of sharing the profit among operators, which make joint-stock of services possible from the point of allocation of profits and the management of business.

2). The comparison between our law and related Japan legislation

Commercial Code of Japan Article 222th, item 1st: Companies can release different kinds of stock of different content according to the distribution of earnings, dividend distribution, distribution of residual property, eliminating stock based on profit. Stockholders who possess less than one share (1000 yen) have not the right to vote, the stock of several stockholders reach one share or more than one share can practice their right of voting together.⁵.

3. Conclusion

No matter from theory or experience in reality, we find out the foundation of their application of stock ownership classification in limited liability company. However, we have a long way to go to think about how to apply the stock ownership classification into the Company Law. The opinion of the author is that, first, it should separate the right of management from ownership, if so, we can make the organization form of corporation more flexible and more vivid on the basis of taking advantage of stock ownership classification.

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Establishing Cointegrating Relationships Involving Interest Rates and Other Macroeconomic Variables in India

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Abstract

The objective of the study is to develop a relationship between interest rates and other macroeconomic variables using latest available data in Indian context so that a forecast of interest rate can be estimated. With the onset of economic reforms the interest rates India are deregulated and banks are allowed to determine market based interest rate. Market determined interest rates are likely to develop some relationship other economic variables and accordingly, cointegration among long term interest rate with other relevant variables are analyzed. While analyzing a number of variables the study found cointegrated relationship among interest rate, inflation and IIP growth rate and delineated an error correction model.

Keywords: Interest rates, Cointegration, Vector Error Correction Model

1. Introduction

The study discusses relationship amongst interest rates with other macroeconomic variables so that future interest rate can be estimated. Forecasting of interest rates helps to reduce the risk associated with large fluctuations in the interest rates and therefore crucial for savings, investing and policy making decisions. India has gradually slackened its position from tight regulation of interest rate regime to freeing interest rates. Further domestic sectors were allowed to be integrated with external sectors allowing cross border movement of funds across countries. Various measures to open up the economy have enabled interest rates to be determined by economic forces and Indian banks were given freedom to offer different interest rates based on maturity and size of deposits both for saving and lending instruments. In the study relationship of interest rate with other economic variables were examined and compared with a view to develop an appropriate model.

One of the oldest doctrines that tried to explain co-movement between interest rates and inflation is found in Fisher Hypothesis. It states that the nominal interest rate is the sum of real interest rate and expected inflation. The real interest rate in an economy usually remains unchanged but nominal interest rate undergoes point to point adjustment with the expected rate of inflation. Several studies have found strong empirical evidence in support of Fisher hypothesis in developed countries where interest rates are market determined.

The relationships of interest rates with other variables are widely studied and a large number of articles are available in literature. We give below findings of few recent studies carried out in Indian context. Bhanumurty and Agarwal (2003) observed that nominal interest rates adjust only to movements in the wholesale market prices but the relationship was not robust. They concluded that interest rate determination in India need not focus much on the domestic inflation rate, as there seems to be no strong co-movement between them. Bhatt and Virmani (2005) showed that short term interest rates in India are getting progressively integrated with those in the US even though the degree of integration is far from perfect. Singh and Sensharma (2006) found that Money Supply, Stock Index and Real Effective Exchange Rate are the three important variables which can be used to predict long term interest rates with a higher degree of accuracy. Bhattacharya, Bhanumurthy and Mallick (2008) noted that although interest rates depend on some domestic macroeconomic variables such as yield spread and expected exchange rates, they are primarily affected by the movement of international interest rates with some lag.

2. Interest Rates in India

Prior to economic reforms, interest rates in India were administered by monetary authority of the country, Reserve Bank of India (RBI). Measures were taken to deregulate interest rates from early 1990s when reforms were initiated for financial linearization of the country. Some of the measures initiated by government to free interest rates are as follows.

- Deposit rates and interest stipulations were simplified by reducing the number of slabs in interest rate structure (1991-92)
- Maturity-wise prescriptions of deposit rates were replaced by a single ceiling rate of 13 per cent on all deposits above 46 days (1992-92)
- Banks were allowed to determine their prime lending rate (PLR) for loans and advances exceeding Rs. 2 lakhs. The lending rates of cooperative banks were also freed (1994-95).
- On deposit front, banks were given freedom to fix their own interest rates on domestic and Non-Resident Indian (NRI) deposits with maturity of over two years (1995-96).
- Banks were given full freedom to determine interest rates on term deposits of 30 days and above. The structure of lending rates was deregulated and banks were given the freedom to offer fixed or floating PLR on loans of all maturities. (1995-96)
- Banks were given freedom to offer differential rate of interest based on size of deposits. Minimum period of maturity of term deposits reduced to 15 days from 30 days. They were advised to determine their own penal rates of interest on premature withdrawal of domestic term deposits and NRE deposits (1998-99)
- Efforts were also made to lowering both the Cash Reserve Ratio (CRR) and Statutory Liquidity Ratio (SLR). The Statutory Liquidity Ratio was gradually brought down to 25% by 1997. Cash reserve ratio (CRR) also brought down from 15% in 1991 to as low as 4.5% in 2004. It was again increased to 9% in March 2008 but brought down to 5% in January 2009.

After these measures were taken to deregulate interest rates, banks became free to determine their own interest rates. Commercial banks started to determine their respective BPLRs (benchmark prime lending rates) taking into consideration of actual cost of funds, operating expenses and an acceptable minimum margin to cover regulatory requirements, expenses, capital cost and profit margin.

Removals of the restrictions have enabled interest rates to be market determined based on influences of various macroeconomic variables. The current trends of some of the interest rates time series is displayed in Figure 1.

It was observed that fluctuation of call money rates were very high and monthly averages varied from 28.7% to less than one percent. For example, average interest rates on call money changed from 8.21% in December 1997 to 28.7% in January 1998. Other three interest rate series plotted in the graph includes average yields on central government securities having remaining maturity of one year (YSGL1), 5 years (YSGL5) and 10 years (YSGL10). Formations of short term trends in interest rates are visible in almost all categories. The rates exhibited downtrend till the year 2003 but started taking reverse turn in 2004.

It is observed that all categories of interest rates are moving together indicating co-movement of these series. The correlation coefficients are tabulated in table 1.

In line with liquidity preference theory, it was also found that instruments having higher maturity usually yield higher interest rates.

3. Inflation in India

Measurement of inflation in India can broadly be classified into two categories: Inflation relating to bulk transactions and Inflation in respect of small transactions. Inflation relating to bulk transactions includes wholesale prices, farm harvest prices, export and import prices, etc. and is measured by Wholesale Price Index (WPI).

WPI is measured by the Office of the Economic Adviser (OEA), Ministry of Industry for all-India, on weekly basis on base year 1993-94 with a time lag of two weeks. The WPI is a single national index compiled at the national level. The basis of inclusion of items in the basket for WPI is their importance in the national economy. The series covers in all 435 commodities. The sector- wise breakup of Commodities is

- Primary articles-98 (food articles-54, Non-food articles-25, minerals-19)
- Fuel, power, Light & lubricants-19
- Manufactured products-318.

WPI is estimated using Laspeyres base-weighted formula that uses arithmetic average of selected price ratios in comparison with corresponding base year prices.

Inflation related to price changes of goods and services at retail level is measured by Consumer Price Index (CPI). There are four different CPIs reported in India on monthly basis as follows.

- CPI for Industrial Workers (CPI-IW)
- CPI for Urban Non-Manual Employees (CPI-UNME)
- CPI for Agricultural Laborers (CPI-AL) and
- CPI for Rural Laborers (CPI-RL).

The CPI (UNME) is published by Central Statistical Organization (CSO), whereas the other three CPIs are published by the Labor Bureau.

Many countries use the CPI as a measure of inflation, as this index measures the actual increase in price that a consumer will finally pay. CPI is the official indicator of inflation in countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Canada, Singapore, and China among others. India is the only large country that uses a wholesale index to compute inflation. Some of the many intricate problems hinder shifting from WPI based inflation to CPI based inflation measures in India are as follows.

- There are four CPI Index series namely, CPI for Industrial Workers, CPI for Urban Non-Manual Employees, CPI for Agricultural labourers and CPI for Rural labour. Which particular index is more appropriate is open to debate.
- Secondly, lag in reporting CPI numbers are high to the tune of two months and data is made available on monthly basis. Whereas WPI is published on a weekly basis and inflation in India is reported on weekly basis.

Owing to these reasons, changes in the wholesale price index still remain as the official measure of inflation in India and this change is measured on year-on-year (YOY) basis. However, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) is used in India in policy making for a wide variety of other purposes. CPI for Industrial Workers for example, is used mainly for determining Wage & Dearness allowance levels of government employees. CPI is also used as a deflator in national account estimates to obtain values at constant prices from values at current prices. Trends in inflation measured using year-on-year (YOY) index changes of both WPI and CPI –IW from 1996 to 2008 are plotted in Figure 2.

It is observed that the WPI and CPI based inflation estimates do not show apparent comovement. Inflation plots, particularly CPI based inflation estimates are highly volatile. During the period, CPI based inflation ranged from 0% to 20%. The average figure of inflation was below 6% and therefore the recent hike of inflation above 8% was considered an alarming situation.

4. Empirical Analysis

4.1 Data

The study considered monthly data of different interest rates, inflation estimates and other macroeconomic variables as available from Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy published by Reserve Bank of India. This handbook is available from website of Reserve Bank of India (<http://www.rbi.org.in/>). As on the date of writing, most of the time series data particularly yield in treasury bills and government dated securities for various maturities are available from April 1996 and updated till June 2008. In the study we collected monthly data for all other macroeconomic variables for the period of April 1996 to June 2008 covering a span of 12 years. Short term interest rates in USA are taken from the website of US Department of the Treasury (<http://www.ustreas.gov/>).

4.2 Relationship between Interest Rates and Inflation

The analysis was started with finding relationship between interest rates and expected inflation as per Fisher Hypothesis, which states that the nominal interest rate is the sum of real interest rate and expected inflation. The real interest rate in an economy by and large remains unchanged but nominal interest rates undergo point to point adjustment with the expected rate of inflation. Several studies have found strong empirical evidence in support of Fisher hypothesis in developed countries where interest rates are market determined. But in many developing countries interest rates are administered by their central banks and hence a natural relationship is willfully distorted.

Fisher (1930) proposed that nominal interest rate i_t at any period is composed of real interest rate r_t and expected inflation π_t^e as follows.

$$(1 + i_t) = (1 + r_t)(1 + \pi_t^e) \quad \dots\text{Equation-1}$$

The equation can be simplified as $i_t = r_t + \pi_t^e + r_t \cdot \pi_t^e$...Equation-2

Assuming that both interest rate and inflation rate are fairly small (on order of few percentage points, $r_t + \pi_t^e$ is much larger than $r_t \cdot \pi_t^e$ and therefore the term $r_t \cdot \pi_t^e$ can be dropped. Thus the Fisher equation can be approximated to $i_t = r_t + \pi_t^e$. Using the rational expectations model to estimate inflation expectations would mean that the difference between realized inflation π_t and expected inflation π_t^e is captured by an error term (ε_t) and thus

$$\pi_t^e = \pi_t + \varepsilon_t \quad \text{Where } E(\varepsilon_t) = 0 \quad . \quad \text{The equation-1 can therefore be modified to } i_t = r_t + \pi_t + \varepsilon_t \quad \text{and a regression equation for testing the hypothesis can be formed as follows.}$$

$$i_t = \alpha + \beta \cdot \pi_t + \varepsilon_t \quad \dots\text{Equation-3}$$

If the value of β is 1 and found significant, it would mean one to one correspondence between nominal interest rate and inflation.

4.3 Stationarity of Data Series

A prerequisite to run OLS regression on equation-3 is to ensure that both nominal interest rate and inflation are stationary so that spurious results can be avoided. Figure-3 displays graph of 10-year interest rate and WPI based inflation rate and Figure-4 displays graph 10-year interest rate and CPI based inflation.

On visual examination of the graphs given in figure-3 and figure-4, neither stationarity nor comovement in time series can be established. In absence of any clear judgment from visual analysis, the stationarity of the series were tested using augmented Dickey and Fuller (ADF) (1979) and Phillips and Perron (PP) (1988) tests.

Dickey and Fuller (1979, 1981) developed formal tests procedures for checking non-stationarity by testing existence of unit root. The obvious test is to form a simple AR(1) model of the form:

$$Y_t = \phi Y_{t-1} + \varepsilon_t \quad \dots\text{Equation-4}$$

Where we need to test whether the value of $\phi = 1$. A more convenient way is to subtract Y_{t-1} from both sides

$$\text{and test the form: } \Delta Y_t = \gamma Y_{t-1} + \varepsilon_t \quad \dots\text{Equation-5}$$

in which $\gamma = 0$ since $(\phi - 1) = 0$. The test of the equation-5 will be valid only if the error term remains as a white noise and not auto correlated. If the error term is found to be auto correlated, the solution is to ‘augment’ the test using additional lag terms of the dependent variable to avoid effects of autocorrelation. The number of lag length can be determined using an information criteria like Akaike Information Criteria (AIC), Schwartz Bayesian Criterion (SBC) or similar others. In many software programs optimum lag length is automatically chosen using a user specified information criteria.

ADF test statistic in some cases may lead to erroneous conclusions in the event of a regime shift such as a market crash or an oil shock as the test often fails to reject the null hypothesis in the presence of structural breaks. It is found that structural breaks in stationary time series can generate apparent unit roots when using ADF based tests. Phillips and Perron (1988) avoided this problem by using a non-parametric adjustment. Other popular tests include The

Kwiatkowski, Phillips, Schmidt, and Shin (KPSS) Test, Elliot, Rothenberg, and Stock Point Optimal (ERS) Test Ng and Perron (NP) Tests, etc.

In the study, both the augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) and Phillips-Perron (PP) unit-root tests on the null hypothesis of non-stationary (unit root) and alternative hypothesis (no unit root) of stationary are tested and results are given in Table 2.

It can be seen in table-2, that both the ADF and PP tests fail to reject the null hypothesis of the existence of a unit root in levels of the series at the 5% level and hence the series are non-stationary. However, in first-differenced form of the series, the null hypothesis of unit root is rejected. It indicates that, all the series are stationary in first-differenced form which means that all the series tested are integrated in order one, or I(1) and long run relationships can be established using cointegration analysis.

4.4 Cointegration Testing

Engle and Granger (1987) established that a specific linear combination of two or more non-stationary series may perform like a stationary series. If such a stationary linear combination is found, the non-stationary time series are said to be cointegrated and the stationary linear combination is described as a cointegrating equation. This equation can be interpreted as a long-run equilibrium relationship among the variables. For the purpose of testing cointegrating relationship between interest rates and inflation, we adopted following VAR-based cointegration tests suggested by Johansen (1991, 1995).

Let us consider a VAR of order p:

$$y_t = A_1 y_{t-1} + \dots + A_p y_{t-p} + Bx_t + \varepsilon_t \quad .\text{Equation-6}$$

where y_t is a vector of non-stationary I(1) variables, x_t is a vector of deterministic variables, and ε_t is a vector of

innovations. The VAR described in equation-6 can be rewritten as

$$\Delta y_t = \Pi y_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^{k-1} \Gamma_i \Delta Y_{t-i} + Bx_t + \varepsilon_t \quad .\text{Equation-7}$$

where:

$$\Pi = \sum_{i=1}^p A_i - I, \quad \Gamma_i = - \sum_{j=i+1}^p A_j$$

Estimates of Γ_i contain information on the short-run adjustments, while estimates of Π matrix contain information

on the long-run adjustments among the variables used in the equation. The number of linearly dependent cointegrating vectors that exist in the system is referred to as the cointegrating rank of the system. Johansen has developed method to identify the rank of Π matrix that uses the trace and maximum Eigenvalue tests (Johansen 1991, 1995).

The rank of the matrix can be used to measure number of cointegrating vectors present in the system. (Johansen 1991, Harris 1995, Kennedy 2003).

4.4.1 Parameter selection for Johansen's test

The Johansen procedure requires that the appropriate lag length for the VAR be estimated beforehand for use in the model. We used three different criteria namely: Akaike Information criterion (AIC), Schwartz Bayesian criterion (BIC) and Hannan-Quinn criterion (HQC) to select lag length. Though use of AIC suggested using 13 lags in all the series, but BIC and HQC criteria estimated optimum lags of all the series to be either 1 or 2. To keep the model simple we decided to keep uniform lag length to the order of one.

Further, as per Johansen (1995) procedure, one of the specified five deterministic trend assumptions is to be selected. However, there is very little research available in the context to ascertain which deterministic trend assumption is most appropriate. Wesso (2000) suggested that the final decision should be guided by both economic theory and statistical criteria.

We assumed that the level data will not have any deterministic trend as neither interest nor inflation can increase (decrease) continuously without reversion. The past behavior of data suggests that these variables usually fluctuate within certain range. While estimating cointegrating relationship as per Johansen method, we had chosen the option that assumes no deterministic trends in the level data but the cointegrating equations can have intercepts. Cointegrating tests

of various combinations of one year interest rate, 10 year interest rate, CPI based inflation and WPI based inflation are reported in Table 3.

It is interesting to note that none of the above four combinations of Interest rate and inflation series show signs of cointegrating relationships. In absence of any cointegrating relationship making a linear OLS model of interest rate and inflation will not be appropriate. The only option left is to derive relationship in the differences of the respective series as the series are of the order-1, but modeling with differenced series will fail to capture long term relationships in the level data.

4.5 Interest Rate modeling with other variables

Since none of the four combinations analyzed in previous section exhibited clear long term cointegrating relationship, we decided to add following of macroeconomic variables in the model.

Presences of cointegrating vectors with different combinations of economic variables were tested using Johansen's procedure and summarized results are reported in Table 5.

The detail result showing cointegrating relationships are presented in Table 6 and Table 7. It is found from table 6 that inclusion of iipgrowth improves rank of Π matrix enabling us to form cointegrating relationship among interest rate, cpiinflation and iipgrowth. Similarly from table-7, another cointegrating relationship involving interest rate, cpiinflation and Net Investment by FI can be developed.

These analysis indicate that both IIP growth rate and Net Investment by FII depicts individual cointegrating relationship with interest rate. Johansen test results involving all four variables (YSGL10, cpiinflation, iipgrowth and NetInvestmentFI) are given in Table-8. It is interesting to note that when cointegration tests were performed using these four variables the number of cointegrating relationships increased to two.

4.6 Choosing an appropriate model

From various combinations of interest rate and other variables, three sets of cointegration relationships are found and therefore three different Vector Error Correction Models can be formed.

Sl #	Variables in the Model	No. of Cointegrating Vectors
Model-1	YSGL10, cpiinflation, iipgrowth	1
Model-2	YSGL10, cpiinflation, NetInvestmentFII	1
Model-3	YSGL10, cpiinflation, iipgrowth, NetInvestmentFII	2

Out of the above three models which model is likely to be more appropriate may be chosen using an acceptable information criteria. We have analyzed Akaike Information criterion (AIC), Schwartz Bayesian criterion (BIC) and Hannan-Quinn criterion (HQC) values of the respective VECM model to select final model. The information criteria values are presented in Table 9. It can be found that Model-1 give lowest value in all the three information criteria and hence a VECM equation is delineated for the model. The complete VECM equation of model-1 is given in Table 10.

From Table-10, VECM equation of interest rate is reproduced in following linear form.

$$d(YSGL10) = 0.0034070122465 * (ysgl10(-1) + 3.09472376496 * cpiinflation(-1) + 8.36402455042 * iipgrowth(-1) - 85.7941020055) - 0.0556916660629 * d(YSGL10(-1)) + 0.0225547185272 * d(cpiinflation(-1)) - 0.0179157676812 * d(iipgrowth(-1))$$

5. Conclusion

In the study we tried to model long term relationship of interest rates with other macroeconomic variables in India. We selected yield on 10 year government security as proxy for interest rate as this interest rate showed co-movement with other medium to long term interest rates. Call money rates and yield on short term treasury bills were highly volatile and hence avoided. Though Fisher hypothesis postulates stable long term relations between interest rates and Inflation, we could not find a stable relationship between the variables on visual plots. The lack of long term relationship was also confirmed using methodology suggested by Johansen.

In the next step, we included other macroeconomic variables one by one and found that inclusion of growth rate on index of industrial production and Net Investment by Foreign Institutional Investors help to establish cointegrating relationship with interest rate. In India, Index of Industrial Production (IIP) represents the status of production in the industrial segment of India and this estimate gives a single representative figure to measure the general level of

industrial activity in the country. This indicator is very important and used by the Government for policy planning purposes and is also used by Industrial Associations, Research Institutes and Academicians. The IIP growth figures can also be considered as a proxy for the overall output of the economy as GDP data is not available on monthly frequency. Cointegrating relation of IIP growth reconfirms that interest rates in the country are strongly influenced by demand of fund for industrial growth. Inclusion of Net investment by foreign investors also found to influence interest rate and as expected it has a negative coefficient. That is, more investment by foreign investors tends to reduce domestic interest rate. Finally we tried to develop a model combining all four variables, Interest rate, CPI Inflation, IIP Growth and Net Investment by FII and found two cointegrating equations.

Out of the three models, final model is chosen based on lowest AIC, BIC and HQC scores and a VECM equation is delineated encompassing interest rate, CPI based inflation and growth rate of industrial production

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Table 1. Correlation coefficient between selected interest rate series

	CALL_MONEY_AVG	YSGL1	YSGL5	YSGL10
CALL_MONEY_AVG	1.000000	0.591832	0.465101	0.461746
YSGL1	0.591832	1.000000	0.966109	0.959159
YSGL5	0.465101	0.966109	1.000000	0.994457
YSGL10	0.461746	0.959159	0.994457	1.000000

Table 2. Unit root test results, p-value of ADF and PP tests

Variables	Fisher ADF Test		PP Test	
	Levels	First Difference	Levels	First Difference
wpiinflation	0.3362	0.0013	0.1620	0.0000
cpiinflation	0.3194	0.0000	0.0838	0.0000
YSGL1	0.4199	0.0000	0.2561	0.0000
YSGL10	0.4616	0.0000	0.4619	0.0000

Table 3. Number of cointegrating vectors

	Null Hypothesis	1-Yr interest rate & CPI Inflation	1-Yr interest rate & WPI Inflation	10-Yr interest rate & CPI Inflation	10-Yr interest rate & WPI Inflation	Critical value at 5%
Lags		2	2	2	2	
Trace Test	r = 0	14.372	10.755	14.035	11.669	15.495
	r <= 1	3.989	3.483	3.298	3.125	3.842
L test	r = 0	10.383	7.713	10.737	8.544	14.265
	r <= 1	3.989	3.483	3.299	3.125	3.842
No of Cointegrating Vectors	Trace Test	0	0	0	0	
	L Test	0	0	0	0	

Table 4. Variables used in the study

Sl #	Variable Name	Particulars
1	YSGL10	Redemption yield on central government securities of 10 years maturity
2	cpiinflation	Inflation measured using year-on-year changes of CPI-Industrial Workers
3	gold10gm	Monthly average price of 10 gram gold in domestic market
4	silverKg	Monthly average price of one kilogram silver in domestic market
5	iipgrowth	Year on year growth in index numbers of industrial production
6	M3growth	Year on year growth of money supply (M3)
7	sensexgrowth	Changes on BSE Sensitive Index measured by year on year changes
8	USDRs	Exchange rate of Indian Rupee per US Dollar
9	PoundRs	Exchange rate of Indian Rupee per UF Pound
10	USinterestrate	Short Term Interest rate (3-month TB) in US
11	NetInvestmentFII	Net Investments by FII in the Indian Capital Market

Table 5. Number of Cointegrating Relationships

Sl #	Variables in cointegrating relationships	Lag Order	Number of Cointegrating Relationships*	
			Trace Test	L Test
1	YSGL10, cpiinlation, gold10gm	1	0	0
2	YSGL10, cpiinflation, silverkg	1	0	0
3	YSGL10, cpiinflation, iipgrowth	1	1	1
4	YSGL10, cpiinlation, M3growth	1	0	0
5	YSGL10, cpiinflation, sensexgrowth	1	0	0
6	YSGL10, cpiinflation, USDRs	1	0	0**
7	YSGL10, cpiinlation, PoundRs	1	0	0
8	YSGL10, cpiinlation, USinterestrate	1	0	0
9	YSGL10, cpiinflation, NetInvestmentFII	1	1	1

* measured at 5% level,

** showed 1 cointegrating relationship at 10% level

Table 6. Johansen test: Using YSGL10, cpiinflation, iipgrowth

Rank	Eigenvalue	Trace test p-value	Lmax test p-value
0	0.25595	56.472* [0.0000]	43.165* [0.0000]
1	0.062017	13.307 [0.3476]	9.3474 [0.4097]
2	0.026755	3.9594 [0.4302]	3.9594 [0.4293]

* Both Trace test and Lmax test indicate presence of 1 cointegrating equation.

Table 7. Johansen test: Using YSGL10, cpiinflation, NetInvestmentFII

Rank	Eigenvalue	Trace test p-value	Lmax test p-value
0	0.45418	101.38* [0.0000]	88.398* [0.0000]
1	0.062253	12.982 [0.3734]	9.3841 [0.4059]
2	0.024343	3.5981 [0.4867]	3.5981 [0.4857]

* Both Trace test and Lmax test indicate presence of 1 cointegrating equation.

Table 8. Johansen test: Using YSGL10, cpiinflation, NetInvestmentFII, iipgrowth

Rank	Eigenvalue	Trace test p-value	Lmax test p-value
0	0.49083	152.43* [0.0000]	98.547* [0.0000]
1	0.24285	53.883* [0.0001]	40.616* [0.0000]
2	0.061853	13.267 [0.3507]	9.3219 [0.4123]
3	0.026658	3.9449 [0.4324]	3.9449 [0.4315]

* Both Trace test and Lmax test indicate presence of 2 cointegrating equations.

Table 9. Information Criterion Values

	Model-1	Model-2	Model-3
AIC	8.0958	23.0309	27.7355
BIC	8.2797	23.2148	28.0624
HQC	8.1705	23.1056	27.8683

Table 10. Vector Error Correction Estimates

Sample (adjusted): 1996M06 2008M06

Included observations: 145 after adjustments

Standard errors in () & t-statistics in []

Cointegrating Eq:	CointEq1		
YSGL10(-1)	1.000000		
cpiinflation(-1)	3.094724 (1.46019) [2.11940]		
iipgrowth(-1)	8.364025 (1.77500) [4.71211]		
c	-85.7941 (16.6505) [-5.15264]		
error correction:	d(YSGL10)	d(cpiinflation)	d(iipgrowth)
cointeq1	0.003407 (0.00125) [2.73016]	-0.001282 (0.00376) [-0.34055]	-0.026524 (0.00744) [-3.56664]
d(YSGL10(-1))	-0.055692 (0.08706) [-0.63970]	-0.199597 (0.26261) [-0.76004]	0.409847 (0.51880) [0.78998]
d(cpiinflation(-1))	0.022555 (0.02637) [0.85516]	0.413773 (0.07956) [5.20086]	-0.049543 (0.15717) [-0.31521]
d(iipgrowth(-1))	-0.017916 (0.01192) [-1.50266]	0.041413 (0.03596) [1.15151]	-0.504423 (0.07105) [-7.09958]

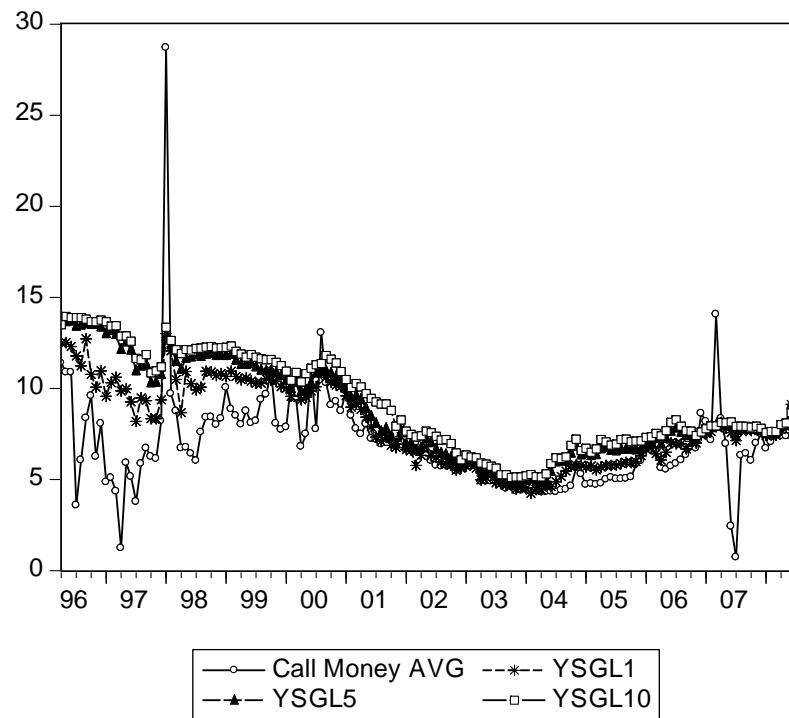


Figure 1. Interest Rate Graphs

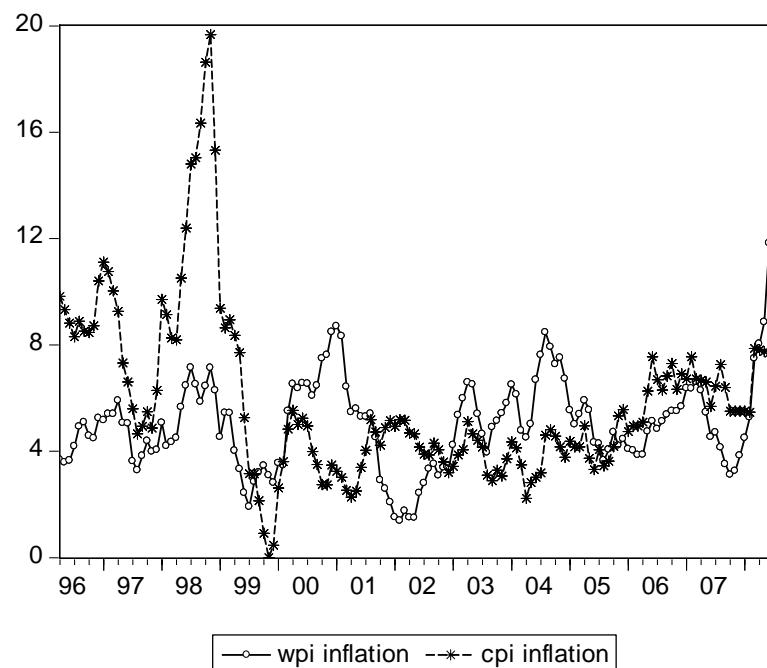


Figure 2. Inflation Trends

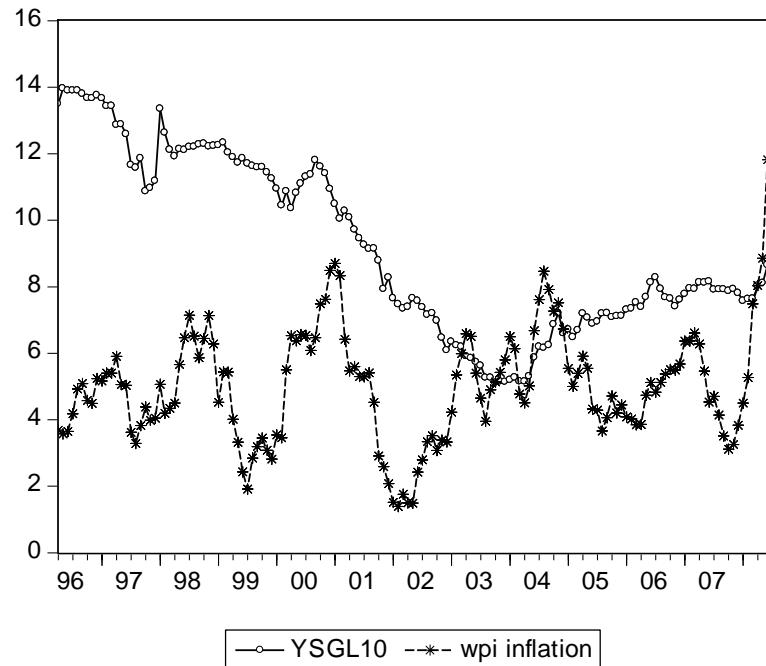


Figure 3. 10 year interest rate and WPI Inflation

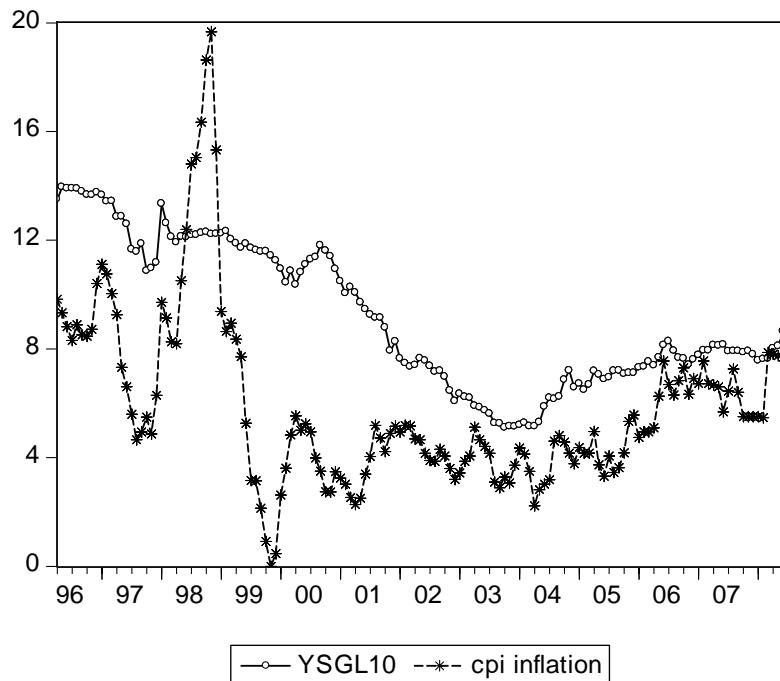


Figure 4. 10 year interest rate and CPI Inflation



Factors Influencing Media Choice for Interact with Their Students among Lectures of Two Academic Institutions: Case of Iran

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to report the findings on the impact of communication technology as channels on interaction between academic staff and their students, conducted at an Iranian higher learning institution. Study focused on media choice and it attempted to determine the communication channels most used by academic staffs in interacting with their students and the reasons they chose these channels. It also intended to find out whether there was a significant relationship between communication channels most used by academic staffs and their perception of media richness. The results revealed that though there is the existence of new communication technologies such as the internet which offers faster and cheaper facilities, Face-to-Face communication is the most used and preferred communication channel by academic staffs in interacting with their students. In addition there was significant relationship between communication channel most used by respondents and their perception of media richness and social presence. That's why with the higher level of social presence, their level of experience with a channel increases. The findings of this study extend two of the most widely investigated media choice theories: Media Richness Theory (MRT) and Social Presence Theory (SPT).

Keywords: Computer Mediated Communication, Face to face communication, Media Richness Theory, Social Presence Theory

1. Introduction

Although face to face meetings are still likely to be an important channel, however, with the growth of new communication technology, it is no longer the sole communication medium used by academic staffs in interaction with their students. New communication technologies that have emerged in recent years, offer new channels and made possible new and expanded forms of communicating. These technologies as a new media have become an integral component of organizational communication as they are more convenient and less expensive than traveling to face-to-face meetings as well as being integrated into multi-media environments and digital networks (Baltes et al., 2002).

New communication technologies and its facilities (such as e-mail, voice-mail and video conferencing over digital networks) have come to be known as the new media as opposed to the traditional media of face-to-face meetings, telephone and text based documents. Thus, research into understanding factors influencing communication media

Choice and exploring optimal ways of communicating has sparked the interest of academics and practitioners alike. There has been much research exploring the use of the new media attempting to develop theoretical approaches for explaining media choice and usage.

According to Tanis and Postmes (2003), some of the most significant turning points in human civilization have been marked by technological innovations that have increased our ability to store, transport and communicate information and knowledge. Modern communication technologies that rely on the processing power of computers challenge conventional notions of media and its use.

Barnes (2003) acknowledges that during the past twenty years, new communication technologies are being widely integrated into teaching and learning. These modern communication technologies broaden the scope of communication and open up communication possibilities not otherwise possible. Among some of these possibilities is efficiency and speed of communication, coordination with and control of multiple persons, ability to sort, send and retrieve messages at any time and place.

In educational environment, for instance, e-mail provides a new method for students and teachers to correspond with each other; it also allows electronic distribution of course material. Discussion lists can be used to support in-class conversation or provide distance education. Students around the world can come to talk about academic materials and assignments. It can also be used as a virtual classroom to bring together students both locally and globally. The Web has also emerged as a popular research tool for both teachers and students.

Bates (1995) noted that internet is one of the teachers and learners who are using it. E-mail is one type of communicating that allows for both one-to-one and one-to-many textual communications without regard to an individual's physical location.

Although many new communication technologies described as 'lean', and thus unsuitable for equivocal problem solving, research has also demonstrated that such technologies can be more effective than face-to-face channels. In fact, despite their commonly asynchronous nature, some organizations have reported positive outcomes when using them, including reduced delays in information exchange, improve maintenance of records and information received, increase coordination of geographic dispersed groups, and improving users' capabilities to process large amounts of information (Baltes et al. 2002).

On the other hand, Researchers found that these technologies usually do not incorporate all of the elements present in the Face to face communication. In other word, in spite of the benefits that new communication channels can offer, it is a limited symbolic representation system. Social and contextual cues that usually regulate and influence human communication dynamics are missing or attenuated.

Some researcher illustrate that face-to-face communication possesses inherent characteristics that make it more appropriate than other communication channels, that suppress too many of the Face to face communication elements (Short, Williams and Christie, 1976). The common explanation is that new channels, in contrast to face-to-face communication, lacks nonverbal cues and that, therefore, the relational tone of communication tends to be impersonal, less friendly, less emotional and more task-oriented.

The impact of new communication technologies in human communication, especially in education, has been the target of intense research. Communication in interaction between academic staff and students plays a key role in ensuring that they can accomplish their objectives at both educational and interpersonal relationship. Because of their job, academic staffs usually spend a lot of time in interaction with their students. Barnes (2003) proposed that the need to understand the impact of new technologies on education is growing as technological advances offer more communication options. In recent years, while many academic staffs have choice to turn to new communication channels as a means of communicating with students, few researches has been aimed to asses how academic staffs communicate with their students or through which channels? Or which channels they most used in interacting with their students? Whether new communication channels or traditional ones?

1.1 Research Question

Theoretically, the above dichotomies of communications channels (traditional channels vs. new communication channels) have some differences in terms of the nature of channels, characteristics of each channel and so on. Base on these differences, this study try to answer the following questions:

R.Q1- What are the level of academic staffs' experience (use) of each communication channel in faculty- student interaction?

R.Q2- What is academic staffs' perception of media richness factors?

R.Q3- Which communication channels do the academic staffs most frequently used for special message (based on characteristic of message)?

R.Q4- Which communication channels most frequently used by the academic staffs based on type of relationship (Educational/ personal relationship)?

1.2 Conceptual Framework

For the purpose of this paper, we chose to investigate the model shown below. Based on this model that was derived from media richness theory and social presence theory, three factors could affect the selection of communication channels in order to interact with each other.

Based on the above mentioned theories, type of task refers to the nature of message that contains simple straightforward message (e.g. clear message), Ambiguous message (e.g. messages that require discussion, negotiation or clarification) and Complex message (e.g. messages that require elaboration, explanation or demonstration with examples).

Type of interaction refers to the kind of relationship between academic staffs and their Students, include of task-focused (e.g. educational relationship) and relation-focused (personal relationship).

Richness of media means the ability of media to carry both verbal cues (, e.g. volume, tone and rhythm of sound) and nonverbal cues (e.g. gestures, facial expression and eye contact.), provides rapid feedback, convey personality traits and support the use of natural language.

Communication channels refer to both traditional and new channels of communication including face-to-face, telephone, mobile, Email, Written Message and online communication. In order to measure the level of academic staff's experiences (use) of each communication channel in interaction with their students, they were on the scale from 1- very low, 2- low, 3- Middle, 4- high and 5- very high.

1.3 Hypotheses

Based on conceptual framework, there are three factors that can influence the choice of communication channel by academic staffs. Two hypotheses were developed to explore these factors. The first hypothesis is related to the experience of academic staffs with different channels:

H1-Whether experience level differed across different communication channels.

H2-Role of academic staffs' perceptions (in terms of richness) in determining which different communication channels are used for interact with their students. The effectiveness of different constructs such as providing immediate feedback, conveying personality traits and carrying both verbal and nonverbal cues were examined in this study. (Noticed that the differences between the first three channels most used by the academic staffs were measured and the other three remaining with lower usage were left out).

H2a - There is significant relationship between the first communication channel most used by academic staffs and their perception of media richness.

H2b- There is significant relationship between the second communication channel most used by academic staffs and their perception of media richness.

H2c- There is significant relationship between the third communication channel most used by academic staffs and their perception of media richness.

2. Literature review

When two or more persons work together, they have to communicate through some medium. While face-to-face was most commonly used medium in communicating, it's seems the dominance of face-to-face communication is changing. This means with the growth of communication technology and advances in network channels, face-to-face meetings are no longer the unique communication medium used by individuals. However, the degree to which media affect communication can change the way in which individuals choose media to communicate and can lead to better or worse relationship.

Although there has been a vast amount of literature investigating new communication channels, it is still not well understood how these new media are integrated into human communication behavior or which traditional media are replaced, if so, by the new communication channels. To answer these questions there has been research in the many dimensions of new communication media usage including: changing perceptions of communication media (Schemer & Stout, 1989); the technical and social characteristics of the new media (Huang & Wei, 2000); the human conceptualization of the underlying properties, roles and functions of the new media (Katz & Rice, 2002); the perceived characteristics of the new media (Trevino et al., 1990); the affect of context and social influence on the adoption and usage of the new media (Carlson & Zmud, 1999).

In addressing the effectiveness of Communication technologies in interacting between academic staffs and their students, this research project joins a body of literature that aims to extend two of the most widely investigated media choice theories: Media Richness Theory (MRT) and Social Presence Theory (SPT).

2.1 Social Presence Theory

According to Short, Williams, and Christie (1976), social presence is a subjective quality of the communication medium and relates to the social psychology concepts of intimacy (determined by physical distance, eye contact, smiling, and personal topics of conversation) and immediacy (determined by the medium's capacity in transmitting information). Tu (2002) has argued that social presence can be defined in terms of a combination of social relationships, communication styles, task analyses, feedback levels and measures of immediacy.

Short, Williams and Christie proposed the social presence theory at a time when the Internet as we know it today was yet to be conceptualized, let alone implemented. In spite of that, the theory has influenced much CMC research over the years.

They see social presence as the ability of individuals to collaborate effectively through technology, even when they are located in different locations and time frames. Social presence refers to the degree to which a medium allows communicators to experience others as being psychologically present, or the degree to which a medium is perceived to convey the actual presence of the communicators. Social presence can be a function of both verbal cues (e.g., tone of voice) and nonverbal cues (e.g., facial expression, direction of gaze, posture, and dress).

Short, Williams and Christie (1976) surveyed the literature on mediated communication and concluded that communication media differ in their ability to provide a sense of social presence. They also concluded that most new media are lacking in social presence. In other word, communicating by media is rather different than communicating in person. This has the implication that understanding may be distorted due to a lack of social cues and users tended to misinterpret messages. In addition, reduced social presence may lead to less emotionality in exchanges, weakening the interpersonal function of communication.

This theory classifies different communication media along a one-dimensional continuum of "social presence." Media that are capable of providing a greater sense of intimacy and immediacy will be perceived as having a higher social presence. On a continuum of social presence, communication media such as FtF meetings, which are capable of conveying nonverbal and social context cues, is considered to have the most social presence, whereas CMC, written, text-based communication have less because they lack nonverbal feedback cues.

According to the social presence theory, communication tasks differ in their requirements for social presence. The appropriateness of a medium for performing certain communication tasks is determined by the degree to which the medium's characteristics of social presence fit the requirements of the tasks. Tasks that require interpersonal skills, such as resolving conflicts or negotiation, demand high social presence, whereas tasks such as exchanging routine information are low in their social presence requirements. Media like Face to face and group meetings are more appropriate for performing tasks with high social presence requirements, whereas media such as e-mail, letters and memos are fit for low social presence tasks.

Although most empirical research on social presence theory has failed to provide consistent support in terms of the theory's ability to predict media choice, however some studies have shown that SPT is predictive of media choice. For instance, Rice (1993) used social presence theory to compare traditional and new media by analyzing data from six studies designed to examine the use and effects of new media. He found that due to the lack of social presence, both voice mail and e-mail were ranked lower in their overall task appropriateness than traditional face-to-face meetings, and e-mail was ranked even lower than voice mail in both overall appropriateness and for exchanging timely or confidential information.

2.2 Media Richness Theory

The media richness theory is suggested by Daft and Lengel in 1986, it is viewed as a refinement and extension of the social presence theory. According to Dennis and Kinney (1998) richness of a medium is based on its ability to process rich information. He proposed Media Richness theory (MRT), which hypothesizes on the information carrying capacity of media. This capacity is increased by the extent to which the medium meets four criteria as follows:

- Feedback Capability – the ability of the medium facilitate instantaneous feedback (synchronicity) and clarification of issues during engagements.
- Multiple Cues/Communication Channels Utilized – the range of cues, (including body language, voice inflection, physical representations) facilitated by the medium.
- Language Variety – the ability of the medium facilitate engagements involving both numbers and natural language.
- Personal Focus/Source – the ability of the medium to convey the personal feelings and emotions of communicating parties.

The media richness theory classifies communication media along a continuum of "richness," where richness is based on the ability of media to carry nonverbal cues, provide rapid feedback, convey personality traits and support the use of

natural language. These criteria impact upon human understanding and frame of reference. As Lam (1998) claimed, media richness refers to the ability of the media to change human understanding, overcome different conceptual frames of reference or clarify ambiguous issues in a timely manner. Consequently, communication media possessing more features of the criteria would rank higher on the richness scale compared to one possessing less.

The media richness theory propose that Face to face communication is the richest medium, followed in order by telephone, written personal, CMC, written formal and then numerical formal media. Oral media, such as Face to face and telephone, are believed to be richer than written media because they provide opportunities for immediate feedback and can have multiple cues including kinesics, facial expression and tone of voice and uses natural language that is high in variety. Especially in face-to-face, participants enable to use varying modes of communication: words, vocal cues (e.g., voice inflection, sighs), nonverbal communication (e.g., gestures, touch), and written or drawn communication (e.g., paper, blackboards). These modes combine to transmit factual information about the task and social information about the personal characteristics of team members. Other media have lesser abilities to transmit these different forms of communication (Wright, 2000).

In media richness theory media were placed in continuum of richness, from low in richness to high in richness. Daft & Lengel (1984 cited in Sevinc and Ambra 2002) state that, media low in richness are suitable for facilitating discussion over simple topics, while media high in richness are suitable for complex organizational topics. They focused on 'traditional' communication media, such that face-to-face meetings were considered the richest media, while the leanest media were considered to be formal, unaddressed documents (such as memos). Media were placed on a continuum of information richness, suggesting that the richness property of each medium was fixed.

Media richness theory differentiates between lean and rich media by the number of cue systems within each medium. This approach suggests that because CMC is a lean channel, it is useful for simple or clear messages. CMC is also more efficient for communication that does not require coordinated interaction efforts. On the other hand, a richer medium should be used for information that is ambiguous, emphatic or emotional (Wright, 2000).

Ambiguous refers to equivocal, whereby the communicators face the problem of confusion because there are too many possible meanings in the message. When words or events are ambiguous or equivocal, people don't need more information but they need a context or framework to help them sort through the data. They need a filter to help them to screen out interpretations that would turn out to be counterproductive. Therefore, Face to face meeting is best for ambiguous messages as it provides rapid feedback.

Complex messages refer to the unpredictable human dimensions and emotional aspects of interactions. It includes those messages that require further explanation, elaboration or clarification. Complex messages are neither objective nor computational procedures that clearly instruct people what to do. According to Keil and Johnson, (2002), complexity is more subjective or perception-dependent than ambiguity.

Keil and Johnson (2002) noticed that CMC and written media can oversimplify complex problems because they do not provide a means to convey feedback or information concerning personal feelings. In addition, Kock (2004) found that the lack of nonverbal and social cues in CMC interaction reduces social regulation, leading to more relaxing feeling and occasional overly emotional interactions.

Media richness theory proposed at a time when the Internet as we know it today was yet to be conceptualized and this has lead to difficulties in trying to position such media on a scale of relative richness. However, if we attempt to assess an electronic medium such as email, based on the criteria for media richness we see that, email is not a rich medium and thus should not be used by for highly equivocal communications.

2.3 Characteristics of E-mail

Sproull (1991) pointed out that e-mail technologies share the following five characteristics that differentiate them socially from other communication technologies:

- i. E-mail is asynchronous. Senders and receivers are not required to attend to the same communication at the same time. Asynchrony is not only a matter of personal convenience; it means communication across time and space.
- ii. Email is fast. Messages can be transmitted in only seconds across a continent, or even around the world. Speed makes possible long-distance conversations.
- iii. Email is text based. Messages convey typographic characters and the text in electronic communication makes it useful for exchanging documents as well as messages.
- Iv. Email has multiple-receiver addressability. The sender can transmit the message to more than one person. This attribute means that without respect to physical, temporal or social location, people can delegate work, collaborate, form new groups and make collective decisions.

v. Email has built-in external memory, which is important for social memory. The contents of electronic messages can be stored and retrieved later by other group members who wish to trace the history of the project and learn about the group's act.

Moran and Hawisher (1997) theorised e-mail as a hybrid, drawing on practices of reading and of writing, while developing its own unique qualities. This new mode of electronic communication has created new textual practices and new social practices around its texts. In particular, e-mail is distinguished by its ease of retrieval, speed, absence of paralinguistic cues and asynchronicity. These assets come with decreased security and some interesting conflicts:

- i. Its seemingly ephemeral, fleeting nature (like speech) with the fixity of print.
- ii. Its illusion of intimacy, with its possibility of being endlessly "forwarded".
- iii. Its sense of communal "warmth" despite geographical distances or anonymity.
- iv. Its playful informality and spontaneity (like speech) with its decontextualised audience (like print).

These paradoxes create a communicative space like no other, distinct from Face to face and pen-and-paper communication. It is a potentially intimate space shared only by the sender and receiver.

So in general, e-mail is classified as a relatively lean medium according to the four characteristics of richness. In using e-mail, one is not able to communicate through multiple cues; immediate feedback may or may not be possible depending on the availability and inclination of the communication partner. Besides that, e-mail is based on the required use of a computer and the written word; hence it is not generally viewed as a personal mode of communication. Use of much language variety is also limited in e-mail.

3. Methodology

This study employed survey research design by distributing questionnaires (self administered). The questionnaires were distributed among 103 academic staff at one Iranian higher learning institution. The population of this study was 140 academic staffs and based on Bartlett, Kotrlik, & Higgins (2001) sampling table a total of 103 respondents were selected randomly from a total population of 103 academic staffs.

Research instrument for this research is questionnaire. The questionnaire is adapted from Lam (1998) and Chidambaram, E. M., & Dag, H. O (1998). The reliability of the questionnaire examined by calculating the internal consistency of the scales using Cronbach's alpha. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha for 6 items of media richness was 0.89 that is statistically acceptable.

4. Findings and analysis

4.1 Personal Information of Respondents

Among the 103 respondents of this study, 70(68%) were male and 33(32%) were female academic staffs. Majority 67(65%) of the respondents were PHD in term of academic qualification. This is followed by the Master 36 (35%).

(Table 1)

Most of respondents, 75.7%, had more than 10 years of teaching experience. However, the mean for respondents' level of teaching experience is 10.8 years; the minimum level of experience was 1 year and the maximum level was 50 years experience of lecturing. In addition, all of the academic staffs, 103 respondents, in faculty of Communication and Social science had some experiences as a Supervisor or member of Committee Supervisory for their students.

(Table 2)

4.2 The level of experience (use) of Communication Channels

To answer RQ1, responses to the six channel used were examined. Table 3 summarizes the overall level of experience of communication channels by academic staffs. Generally, Face-to-Face interaction (mean, 4.52) becomes the most dominant communication channel for academic staff in interaction with their students. This is followed in order telephone line (mean, 2.9), mobile phone (mean = 2.8), email (mean, 2.7), Written message (Mean, 2.3) and Online communication (mean, 1.9).

(Table 3)

4.2.1 Testing hypothesis one

Hypothesis 1 addressed whether the level of experience for most communication channels used by academic staffs, is significantly deferent with other communication channels. In order to find out this, a pair sample T-test is used to comparing the mean of most communication channels used by academic staffs one by one.

Only between the mean of face to face and the mean of others channels; there is significant difference of mean. (e.g. Face-to-Face and telephone line $t= 10.26$, $p = .00$, face to face on mobile phone, $t = 13.2$, $p = .00$). In other word, Hypothesis No. 1 was supported, suggesting that academic staff's experience levels differed significantly with different

media. That means face-to-Face, as a first channel, is significantly more used by academic staffs comparing with others communication channels.

(Table 4)

4.3 Communication Channel Used and Perception of media richness

RQ2 asked academic staffs perception of media richness factors. In this study, the academic staffs were asked to provide reasons of why they choose special medium in order to communicating with their students. The respondents are agreed that the channel must convey personality traits of mine and students (Mean = 4.2), provide immediate feedback. (Mean = 4.28), enable both me and students to use friendly language (Mean = 4.01), carry both verbal and nonverbal cues (Mean = 4.419), carry sufficient verbal cues (Mean = 4.28).

(Table 5)

Hypothesis 2.a through 2.c addressed whether there was a relationship between communication channel most used by academic staffs and their perception of media richness. As table 3 and 4 show, academic staffs chose Face-to-Face channel as their most used communication channel, significantly. This is followed by Telephone line and Email as the second and third one. In line with this, Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to measure whether there is significant relationship between Face-to-Face, telephone line and Email, as the three most channels used by academic staff, and their perception of media richness. In other words, to understand whether the choice of Face-to-Face meetings or Telephone line and Email as the most used communication channel was due to their perception of media richness provided by this medium.

The results showed that, two of the above hypotheses were supported and there were significant relationship between the Face-to-face and Telephone line as channels and their perceptions of media richness. In other words, these results confirm that academic staffs preferred to use Face-to-Face and Telephone line channel due to the high level of social presence and media richness provided by these media. But, third hypothesis (relationship between Email and academic staffs' perception of media richness) was rejected. One possible reason is it's less experienced by academic staffs so that they couldn't consider Email as a rich medium. Or maybe they believed that Email comparing to Face-to-face and Telephone line is less effective because of its accessibility, cost, etc.

(Table 6)

Thus, perceptions of media richness play and important role for academic staffs in the selection of channels in order to interact with their students. This finding is also consistent with the social presence, which claims that Face-to-Face has the highest level of social presence and richness of information because it allows the simultaneous observation of multiple cues, including kinesics, facial expression and tone of voice. Face-to-Face also provides immediate feedback, personal interaction and uses of natural language that is high in variety.

4.4 Communication Channel most used based on characteristics of message

The result showed that 71(68.9%) of the academic staffs preferred to see students Face-to-Face even to communicate straightforward and clear messages. Mobile phone was ranked as the second preferred medium 13(12.6%), followed by telephone line 13(12.6%), written message 3(2.9%) and written message 3(2.9%). So, this finding is contradicted with the notion of social presence and media richness theory, which propose that communicators would use a lean channel for straightforward and clear messages. One possible reason for why academic staffs were preferred to use Face-to-Face for almost every task is the phase that "old habits are hard to break". In other words, it grows into a habit to use this way of communication traditionally and culturally. Also, because the new communication technologies are more or less new arrival, maybe they feel some difficulties in terms of accessibility (for both side; sender and receiver), effectiveness and their ability to carrying message correctly.

(Table 7)

To communicate ambiguous messages, 78.6% of the academic staffs preferred to use Face to face meeting; only 21.4% chose to use Telephone line. This finding is consistent with the social presence and media richness theory, which suggested that a rich medium would be useful for ambiguous messages. There were 86.4% of academic staffs that chose Face-to-face as the preferred channel to communicate complex messages. It was followed by telephone line (9.7%) and e-mail (3.9%).

As mentioned earlier, these findings cast some doubt on media richness theory which states that task with different information rich requirements will require the use of different media. In this study, while media use differed within tasks, it did not differ across tasks. For example academic staffs appeared to be relying on traditional media for almost every task.

However, when this result is considered in light of the support for hypothesis No.1, a possible explanation emerges. Academic staffs' experiences with different media differ; they are more experienced with traditional media (e.g. face to

face) and less experienced with new communication channels (e.g. online communication). As their level of experience with a channels increases, their use of that medium also tend to increase.

4.5 Communication Channel Used based on Types of Interaction

For both Educational and personal type of interactions, in general, most of the academic staffs preferred to use Face-to-Face channel for communicating with their students, followed by Mobile Phone and Email. Although, Face-to-Face and Telephone can consider as high level of media richness, however, According to the social presence and media richness theory, Email has lower level of social presence and media richness comparing to telephone. But, this study found that email as a second preferred channel by academic staffs. This preference of students could be explained by some characteristics of e-mail suggested by Sproull (1991), where he pointed out that e-mail technologies share the following five characteristics that differentiate them socially from other communication technologies: 1- Email is asynchronous, 2- Email is fast, 3- Email is text based, 4- Email has multiple-receiver addressability and 5- Email has built-in external memory, which is important for social memory.

(Table 8)

5. Conclusion

The major conclusion of this research is the perception of media richness play a key role in the selection of channels. As it was discovered in this study, Face-to-Face communication is the most used and preferred communication channel (mean=4.52) by academic staffs in interaction with their students followed by Telephone line (mean=2.9) and Email (mean=2.8). It also discovered that there is significant difference (H1) between the levels of experienced by academic staffs across the different channels.

This finding resonates with Chidambaram, et al (1998) which states that even though there is the existence of new communication technologies such as the internet which offers faster and cheaper facilities, traditional channels still remain most preferred channels among staffs of organization.

The main reason for this finding as supported by H2.a and H2.b is, because of their higher level of social presence and richness of information ($F-F = r, .366, p=.001$ & Telephone line= $r, .349, p=001$). In other words, Face-to-Face and Telephone Line are chosen because academic staffs have experience with it, consider it to more effective and a rich medium and are generally satisfied with it. Nevertheless that the H2.c for the third communication channels used was rejected.

However, while Face-to-Face remains highly appropriate and popular in most situations, modern communication channels such as email can also provide a preferable solution in other contexts. Despite the lower usage of e-mail for ambiguous and complex messages, e-mail is found to be the third widely adopted and preferred communication medium among faculty members in faculty-student interaction, especially for sending Simple Messages and Complex Messages.

Another explanation for the results of this study may be is the factor of time. The element of time as discussed by the Social Information Processing Theory (SIP) is one of the most important factors in the decision making to use which kind of media in order to interacting which others (Whalter, 1996). These are because, while the multiple channels and cues available in face to face interaction expedited the exchange of information and fulfilling the task, the process slowed by the new communication channels.

In view of this, the principle of interactivity was developed by Burgoon *et al.* (2002). According to the principle of interactivity, the differences among channels are not just based on the number and types of cues filtered out, but also based on several criteria or structural affordances such as contingency, transformation, participation, proximity, synchronicity, parallelism and so on.

Thus, future study should consider examining the factor of time in selecting of media channels in order to interact with each other. Future studies also need to be conducted in order to determine the effect of principle of interactivity in each communication channels.

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Table 1. Demographic of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	70	68
Female	33	32
Academic Qualification	Number	Percentage
PHD	67	65
Master	36	35
Total	103	100.0

Table 2. Experience of Lecture

Experience of Lecture	Frequency	Percent
1-10	25	24.3
11-20	39	37.9
21-30	30	29.2
More than 31	8	7.8

The level of Supervision	Frequency	Percent
Bachelor	6	5.8
Master	41	39.8
PHD	12	11.7
All	33	32.1
Master & Bachelor	8	7.8
Master & PHD	3	2.9
Total	103	100

Table 3. The level of experience

Channels	Mean	Sd. Deviation
Face-to- Face	4.52	.86
Email	2.8	1.50
Mobile phone	2.7	1.3
Telephone line	2.9	1.3
Written Message	2.3	1.3
Online Communication	1.9	1.1

The channels were on scale from 1- very low to 5- very high.

Table 4. Pair sample T-test

Pair sample T-test	T-value	df	P-value
Face-to- Face telephone line	10.26	100	0.000
Face-to- Face Mobile phone	13.20	101	0.000
Face-to- Face Email	11.10	101	0.000

Table 5. Academic staff's perception of media richness

Factor of media richness	Mean	Sd.
The channel must convey personality traits of mine and students, e.g. friendliness, respectfulness and concern.	4.2	.83
The channel must provide immediate feedback.	4.28	1.6
The channel must enable both me and students to use friendly Language.	4.01	.91
The channel must carry both verbal and nonverbal cues, e.g. volume and eye contact.	4.19	.84
The channel must carry sufficient verbal cues, e.g. volume, tone and rhythm of sound.	4.28	.92
The channel must carry sufficient nonverbal cues, e.g. gestures, facial expression and eye contact.	3.93	1.02

Table 6. Pearson Correlation for Communication channels used and Perception of Richness of media

Channel	Media richness	
	r	p-value
Face-to-face	.366	*.001
Telephone Line	.349	.001
Email	.450	.067

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 7. Communication Channel used based on characteristics of Message

Characteristics of Message	Communication Channels	Frequency	Percentage
Simple Message	Face-to-Face	71	68.9
	Mobile Phone	13	12.6
	Telephone line	13	12.6
	Email	3	2.9
	Written Message	3	2.9
Ambiguous Message	Face-to-Face	81	78.6
	Telephone Line	22	21.4
Complex Message	Face-to-Face	89	86.4
	Telephone line	10	9.7
	Email	4	3.9

Table 8. Communication Channel Used and Types of Interaction

Educational relationship	Communication Channels	frequency	Percentage
To fix appointments with students to see them or do something.	Mobile Phone	42	40.8
	Face-to-Face	29	28.2
	Telephone Line	19	18.4
	Written Message	12	10.7
To provide feedback on students' assignments or final year projects.	Face-to-Face	40	38.8
	Telephone Line	25	24.3
	Mobile Phone	25	24.3
To pass lecture or tutorial notes to students.	Face-to-Face	88	85.4
	Email	15	14.6
To encourage and motivate students to do something.	Face-to-Face	80	77.7
	Email	11	10.7
	Mobile Phone	6	5.8
Personal relation ship	Channels	Frequency	Percentage
To show concern about students' problems (e.g. sympathy, condolence).	Face to Face	73	70.9
	Email	14	13.6
	Mobile Phone	11	10.7
To invite students to eat/ drink something with you.	Face to face	54	52.4
	Mobile phone	31	30.1
	Email	8	7.8
	Telephone line	6	5.8

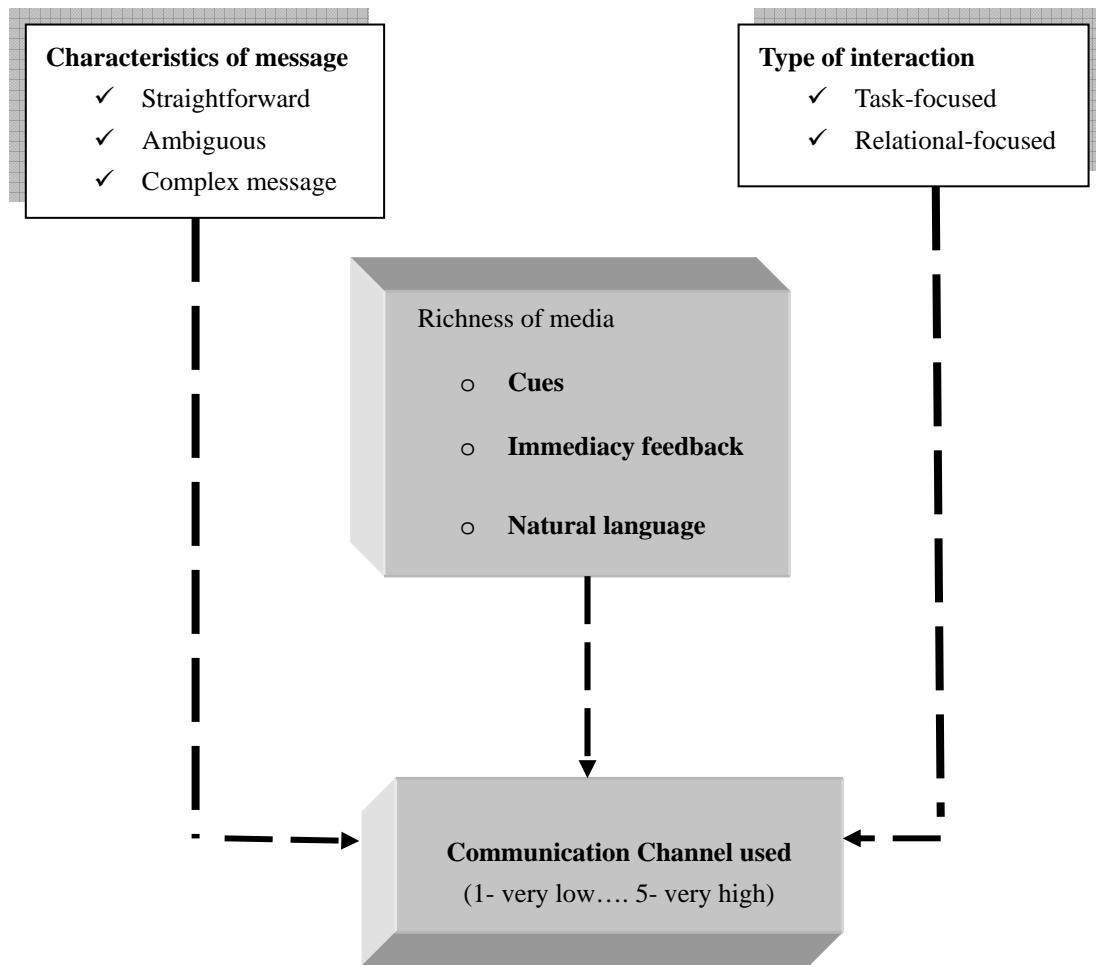


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework



The Conceptive System of Keeping away Project Crisis

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Abstract

In this paper, we regard the pattern of keeping away project crisis as research object. We carry through the system considers to project crisis in order to set up a condign emergency disposal pattern of taking precautions against crisis. We have analyzed the commonness and individuality between the public crisis and enterprise crisis totally. Societal operation and development had been under threat from these emergency crises seriously. It is urgent need for society development to constitute social crisis management system currently. The tradition theories and methods exists shortages that are in response to these emergency crisis. We could explore the inside regulation of the crisis activity, while is based on the scientific Views of development. Social crisis and public crisis could decompose to take advantage of the method of the project unit. This is a new availability crisis management mode to take from these emergency crises. We eluded the human psychology and behavior factors out of the analysis framework. We should understand what could do to manage in these emergency crises. The reliability theory will made as the platform of integrating risk management activities. We will improve the technique about the game in crisis management. The commonly rules are discussed in project crisis of our country. Moreover, a new crisis management system is proposed from conceptive views that precaution system can solve possible crisis in crisis process.

Keywords: Project management, Crisis, System analysis, Unconventionality decision-making

1. Introduction

The crisis is a frightening wording, which any society, nation and organize with individual cannot evade from its influence. The scientific and technological progress changes with each passing day. The economic globalization tide is turbulent at present. The social affiliation correlation is osculation increasingly. The multifarious contradiction and competes are anfractuosities. The affairs of sudden crisis are occurrence frequently. China is just in historical pass of per capita gross domestic product (GDP) 1000 dollars to 3000 dollars. This is the key period of a promising with risk. It makes public crisis into one high-incidence phase in the transition of economy and society. How do you dispose the emergency of public crisis? We must face the great subject. The keeping away project crisis with disposal is core of public crisis management. It is more important than the given crisis affairs of solution. The research about condign keeping away crisis with technology is important and practical for improving the ability of government to take precautions against crisis.

China is just in new development stage coexisting with opportunity and challenge. Many new changes have appeared in

the crisis configuration all over the world today. Many projects have come forth rapidly with persistent reform and opening in China. There are challenges from dynamic changeful project environments and its inner order. It is a pressing and crucial task to study the crisis management issue of projects. Concretely, what can do in crisis management? What cannot do in crisis management? How the system is to elude hominine psychology and behavior factors out of the analysis framework? We will propose a new integrated crisis management system from systematic views. The technique of the game will improve in crisis management. The reliability theory will make as the platform of integrating risk management activities. We will realize a harmony between general crisis management theories and keeping away project crisis with disposal mode. We have kept to these thought paths of conceptual system, theory strategies, operation mechanism and empirical study, which indicates the issue-oriented characteristic of management study. We brought up several innovative standpoints. Such as, the source of projects crisis is the fault in projects system. We adopted the quantitative analysis method on researching problem of projects crisis. We applied the demonstration analysis way on researching reliability problem of preventing projects crisis. We have brought up scientific suggestion on keeping away arisen possible projects crisis with dissolving, while combined these researches the internal and international circumstance. The relevant countermeasure are proposed in crisis management system reformation, high crisis projects run surveillance, process management, projects stratagem, crisis precaution system startup and so on. Principal innovative conclusions are described as follows.

2. Conception and characteristics

It needs scientific method to understand crisis with crisis management. The crisis affairs with naturalness and production have took place more frequency and more multifarious form to spread to the seven seas. There is the immanent factor among them consequentially. The process of globalization trend development is that an integral course is full of opportunity, challenge and risk. In 2003, China gross domestic product (GDP) has already exceeded 1000 dollars. The gross domestic product (GDP) will exceed 3000 dollars in 2020. This is a sign that China modern developments have already entered a new stage. International experiences have made know that the nation will confronted with two kind outlooks from low income to higher income time, per capita gross domestic product (GDP) 1000 dollars to 3000 dollars. One outlook is come into prosperous development estate time in economy. Another outlook is relapse into high frequency and more multifarious crisis estate time. If these crises should not handle properly, a great deal of inconsistency would be likely to become acute. In addition, society economic development is likely to bog down. Maybe it even causes the social turbulence with fall back that would be alike some nation in Latin America. Therefore, the crisis is inevitable phenomenon of the society development in modern times. The crisis is also a risk expense of society economy high-speed disharmony development.

The crisis affairs have taken place more frequency and more multifarious form. The anarchy is appearing in crisis predicament. The crisis affairs with lifeblood, heart's-blood and moneybag check give prominence to society economy high-speed disharmony development in modern times, while society commonality ensured system is friability. These are refraction of government management disfigurement being short of position. The ability loss is exposure that government tunes up crisis selfhood. The crisis management system is so confusion currently that projects cause trouble but government paycheck. This is an extraordinary deviant phenomenon in crisis management.

This word about crisis has be make use of misuse or inaccuracy currently. The crisis has become the thesaurus of sudden affairs, emergencies or safety affairs and so on practically. As a matter of fact, their meaning of these words are not equal completely. The sudden affairs imply unexpected events to take place, but they are not influence the all progress indefinitely whether or how take order with them. The emergencies are mean corresponsive events quickly. The safety affairs are pointed harm events for person or body. They differ from the crisis affairs, but they may cause the crisis's occurrence.

The conception, characteristics and framework need to define in projects crisis management. This research is according to the management principle that simplexes valid management is best management under the crisis scenario. We have given the framework system of keeping away project crisis with disposal for the project management pattern of community organizes and vigorous pervasion of precaution thoughts. The inner connotation of keeping away project crisis with disposal is expatiated to suit unique attributes and development trends of Chinese commonality management. The project crisis is a state of paralytic and out-of-order affairs that has presented. From new thoughts of crisis management, we have given out the guidance meaning of projects paradigm. We indicated the specific realization ways of projects crisis partaken management supporting by project management. We have proposed the conception, characteristics and framework of projects crisis management of keeping away project crisis with disposal, for surpassing limits of traditional crisis management.

Barton take for the crisis is an indetermination event that can cause latent negative domino effect. (Barton L. Crisis in Organizations, 2001) This kind of affairs and its result may damage immensely for its personnel, product, serve, property with good reputation. He has designated as the crisis to have the appearance of these characteristics. One is to stand in amazement. The other is high menace for importance value. Third characteristic is to make the decision in short

time expressly. Therefore, we can define the crisis to according to these. The crisis is a deadlock predicament of affairs to hang over badly all basic value and behavior guide line frame in system, while bring on normal movement system into disorder, discontinuer, destruction or paralysis state. It may threaten community safety or the principal part of the system to exist. It must make key decision in the time pressure with the indetermination circumstance. Our studying crisis management aimed at managing every kind of sudden affairs before the event and after the event, while those cannot presuppose when they take place in advance. However once these affairs occurrence would result in extreme dangerous for the system. The conception emphasized that crisis management is a time sequence. It includes the management before the crisis to explode. It includes the management after the crisis to explode too. The purpose of the crisis management is to decrease or to avoid harm by any possibility in the crisis course. The crisis management is also a process of summarizing and valuing law.

3. Systematic function mechanism

It is described that systematic function mechanism of projects crisis management may keep away project crisis with disposal. It is the basis of systematic crisis to be resolved strategies research from functional views. We published the five basic and objective crisis regulations on foundation to analysis inside inducement of outside environment in crisis. Focusing on special issues of projects crisis management of keeping away project crisis with disposal, we have given out three key influential factors of crisis that described their mutual functions. The three key influential factors are crisis-fountainhead, crisis-path and crisis-object in crisis.

The three key influential factors model of crisis are described as Figure 1 below. Any crisis can divide into three parts that are crisis-fountainhead, crisis-path and crisis-object. In the many earlier research, specialists developed the different type crisis diagram for the research of crisis affairs. We acknowledgement this is extraordinary difficult to bring up the mission of the concept frame for describing the crisis affairs. (Alexander Kouzmin, 2006, 5:35-41). Hereon, we use the following diagram to indicate the three key influential factors model of crisis. It is shown as Figure 1 below.

Insert Figure 1 Here

From the diagram, we can find a phenomenon. The crisis produced in part of project, but its bane and effect may be overall situation. We should adopt corresponding management tactic to aim at three parts of crisis. In usually circumstance, the preventing way is adapt to manage crisis-fountainhead. The segregating way is adapt to manage crisis-path. The urgent handling way is adapt to manage crisis-object.

We defined the modules of projects crisis management that can keep away project crisis with disposal system. The formed conceptual model is integrated each module. Basis of objective regulation of projects crisis activity, we discussed the possibility and necessity problem of the projects crisis precaution with advance design. The cost profit and loss worth space of keeping away crisis is given outs. Therefore, the mechanism issue of keeping away project crisis with disposal is revealed based on forming the dynamic model for this system. Accordingly, it has indicated that inner effective cooperation mechanism among each reliability module of keeping away project crisis with disposal in projects crisis management.

4. Reliability regulation

There are high risk and high crisis in future society. It will increase that one would be depend on other for existence degree. It will be deepen to depend upon liaison. The internationalization and socialization will be show by force. Development and crisis is chaperonage coexistence. The society development speed is to keep in touch with crisis degree closely. The variety of crisis is to interrelate the degree of society industrializes and the level of modernization nearly. That human being influences nature and society is gradually increased. The crisis probability moves up much more. The crisis strength deepens farther. The crisis frequency is speeding up. The crisis interlink is lengthening. The crisis spread to other quickly. The crisis involves the politics, economy, culture, society, military, environment, spirit and otherwise field. We could think that crisis is necessity phenomenon of the society high-speed disharmony development in modern times.

We can analyze the crisis development trend with oneself regulation according to the trend syllogism and growth curve method. We know that crisis is the thing out of line development as a result from quantitative changing to extent by the holy poker. This is also to say that crisis is must pass through time process necessarily. Therefore, no matter how abruptness the crises take place, there is a forecast interspaces in time process of the taking place crisis. At the same time, there is a daisy chain domino effect in crisis. The longer daisy chain of crisis system; the weaker link is the system.

Any crisis would dissolve to disappearance or clear up as proper motion, while obtain of oneself weak link or channel to set free oneself energy. If you could not make management for crisis efficaciously, it would be able to grow personal misfortune in all probability on the channel of release energy fully. If you could make management for crisis efficaciously, it would be able to be avail oneself of their energy in all probability. Thereby, the crisis provide with both sides characteristic. Meeting an emergency of crisis is only to play down their harm and expense or to shorten crisis

duration, while fell back on expending the arm of flesh and material resources. Hereby, the crisis management is to need expend cost and benefit.

We have known distinctly that any crisis could divide into three parts of crisis-fountainhead, crisis-path and crisis-object. Any crisis-fountainhead is consisted in certain projects consequentially. As long as we could prevent the crisis-fountainhead, we would manage the crisis. Because the crisis-fountainhead can boil down to system reliability management in projects, the crisis management could boil down to system reliability management. Videlicet, to solve the matter of system reliability management implies to solve the matter of the crisis management. In this way, we could define that crisis of crisis-fountainhead inside of projects is the projects internal crisis. On the contrary, we could define that the crisis of crisis-fountainhead exterior of projects is the projects outer crisis. The project internal crisis is a topic for discussion of the system reliability in projects materially. The system reliability include mostly two-aspect problem. One is design limitation themselves. Another is the system management leak to reverberate oneself or outer crisis. The projects outer crisis include mostly natural or other project to be at the bottom of crisis. The operation firing into the wrong flock in key flow inside of projects is likely to cause catenation reaction for other projects exterior, while could down to be at the bottom of commonality crisis in society. This is conjunction of the projects internal crisis and the projects outer crisis. We may solve the management problem in the projects internal crisis and the projects outer crisis to make use of conjunction hereinbefore. On the contrary, we can break down common crisis in society to make use of conjunction hereinbefore.

Withal, the systematic reliability model of projects crisis management of keeping away project crisis with disposal is must form. We have studied the reliability strategies of project system based on the systematic function mechanism with the introduced reliability theory. We formed the dynamic model for this system with modularize, FTA (fault tree analysis) and process chain techniques. Focusing on unique targets of keeping away project crisis with disposal, we can solve key systematic failure of design disfigurement, management leak and emergency misplay. On fuzzy and stochastic characteristics of system process, the confirming method of keeping away project crisis with disposal has proposed by introducing reliability of keeping away project crisis model. We formed the two basal strategies of keeping away project crisis with disposal in projects crisis management for the actual scenario of the crisis process. The two basal strategies are these modes of series and parallel connection.

5. Key hypothesis validated

It is essential to validate key efficient hypothesis of keeping away project crisis with disposal empirically. This research investigated 30 example affairs of actual item crisis. We studied empirically for tow basic conclusions of this paper under a Chinese colliery project conditions. We proposed the empirical conceptual model based on above research of one basic and two derivative sub-hypothesis. Any crisis could divide into three parts that are also crisis-fountainhead, crisis-path and crisis-object. Any crisis-fountainhead is consisted in certain projects consequentially. Suppose the crisis-fountainhead could control, the crisis would be good for management. The matter of system reliability management to solve implies the matter of the crisis management to solve. We can break down common crisis in society by making use of conjunction of the projects internal crisis and the projects outer crisis hereinbefore. We have taken the overseas experiment observation methodology of physical science and engineering technology as the basic empirical study framework. The exploratory factor analysis and confirmatory factor analysis is implemented. The results of empirical study support two basic conclusions. The keeping away project crisis with disposal (redundancy degree) can promote project crisis management activities with the positive correlation. The costs of keeping away project crisis with disposal are important for crisis value losing in project with the negative correlation. It provides complete support for keeping away project crisis with disposal efficient hypothesis that precaution system can solve possibility crisis in crisis process. The results of keeping away project crisis with disposal would make projects crisis management itself to attain advancement in projects crisis management.

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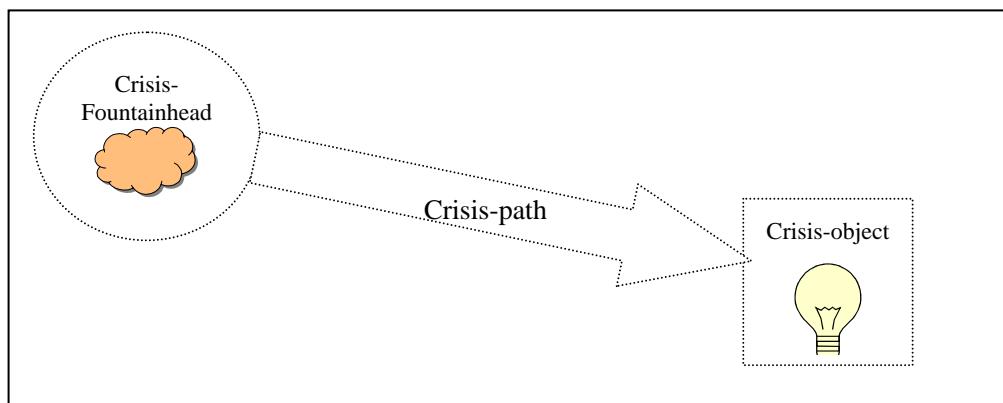


Figure 1. The three key influential factors model of crisis

Land Holding Changes and Kinh and Khmer Farmers' Livelihoods in Thoi Thuan B Hamlet, Thoi Lai Town, Co Do District, Can Tho City, Vietnam

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Abstract

Prior to 1975 the Saigon regime in Vietnam implemented land reforms in the form of private property rights. After 1975, land reform based on an egalitarian approach to land distribution for every household member eliminated both large scale land holdings and landless people. However, land redistribution and the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in South Vietnam was not as effective as the Government would have liked. It is said that methodological shortcomings and the inexperience of the State in implementing agrarian transformation led to the failure of this reform. Since the introduction of the 1993 Land Law and neo-liberalist policies, land has effectively become a commodity distributed through market mechanisms. Therefore, land can now be bought and sold by and to anybody. Commoditization of the land has increased the gap between the rich and the poor. In fact, the neo-liberalist ideology focuses on effectiveness and efficiency but not social security, because the Land Law reforms have introduced competitive power relations and an insecurity of land tenure. Some poor farmers do not have enough capital to invest effectively in agricultural production, leading to the sale of their land and them becoming landless. Therefore, in order to survive, wealthy, medium and poor farmers, as well as landless people, have had to diversify their livelihoods through a combination of on-farm, off-farm and non-farm activities.

Keywords: Egalitarianism, Land law, Neo-liberalism, Commodity, Diversify, Livelihood

1. Introduction

Land reform, particularly of farmland, has, over the years, been a major strategy of the State in seeking to manage land, control people and improve rural societies in Vietnam. However, the different political periods have reflected different land reform strategies. As a result, land holdings and the lives of the farmers in the Mekong Delta have been affected by the land reforms taking place prior to and since 1975. The impacts of these policies are reflected in the land holding situation at my local research site.

In Thoi Lai town, I selected Thoi Thuan B hamlet to be my research site, because this hamlet contains a large area of agricultural land affected by the 1993 Land Law, with a greater amount of diversification in occupations (which now include farming, small industrial and business enterprises, and service businesses), a greater number of Khmer and poorer people, and more complex social relations and networking taking place than in the other hamlets in Thoi Lai town.

2. Research Methodology

2.1 Scope of the Study

My study is focused on the land holdings and livelihoods of the different Kinh and Khmer farm households in the study area, especially the poor farm and poor landless households in the community. Since the 1993 Land Law was introduced, the farmers and landless people have had to cope with a scarcity of land resources in their rural area.

However, in order to understand how the farmers' land holdings and their livelihoods have changed since the introduction of the State's *Doi Moi* policy (the Vietnamese State decided to shift from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, the so-called "*Doi Moi*" policy, at the end of the 1980s), those land holdings and livelihoods introduced by the Saigon regime and also during the reunification of the country after the American-Vietnam war will also be revealed.

2.2 Research Site

Within the context of the agrarian transition, Thoi Lai town in O Mon District was changed to Thoi Lai small town in Co Do District in 2004 and then was changed to become Thoi Lai District earlier this year (2009). It comprises five hamlets: Thoi Thuan A, Thoi Thuan B, Thoi Phong A, Thoi Hiep and Thoi Hoa A. Thoi Lai town is located 30 kilometers away from central Can Tho to the east. Thoi Thuan B hamlet, with 508 households and 3096 inhabitants, was selected to be my research site because the hamlet has a large amount of agricultural land (107 hectares), and displays a large amount of diversification in terms of different occupations, a large number of Khmer and poor people, and a more extensive social network than the other hamlets in Thoi Lai town.

2.3 Data Collection

The data for my study was gathered from participants (farmers, landless people; hamlet, small town and district officials), through focus group meetings and discussions (including the different economic household groups of Kinh and Khmer people, the village elders and hamlet officials), household interviews (with farm households and landless households; both Kinh and Khmer), individual in-depth interviews (with farmers and landless people from different economic groups: Kinh and Khmer, the elders and officials) and from key informants (the elders, hamlet and small town headmen and leaders of the hamlet and small town associations), and was cross checked through field observations and secondary information in the form of relevant studies and reports.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied during my research; therefore, the way in which I gathered my data was through my integration into the Kinh and Khmer farmers', and the poor landless people's everyday practices in terms of both their ordinary everyday life and their production practices, besides also obtaining information from questionnaires.

The necessary data and information required for carrying out the research could have been collected at a number of different levels, such as at the city, district, village, hamlet, household and participant levels. However, this data and information would only have been considered as an initial help for carrying out the research, because, in fact, data collection for social science studies tends to be very complicated; data and information at different levels is interrelated, so that one might not be able to separate one from the other. Moreover, a number of data collection techniques should be applied whenever a researcher wishes to obtain information at any level. For all these reasons, I gathered the necessary data and information from research questions and in line with my research objectives.

2.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

References and data on the different kinds of household and the different actors, were collected and analyzed using quantitative methods (using Excel and SPSS), both for description and for a comparison between the different groups of farmers and landless people. I also used qualitative methods to capture the social relations, networking and livelihood diversification aspects of the different economic groups, as well as between the Kinh and Khmer households, in order to reveal the livelihood strategies they use to adapt to the land policies.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Classification of the Households in the Thoi Thuan B Hamlet

Generally, according to the household classification provided by the key informants (the local elders and hamlet leaders), poor households occupy about 37 percent of the total number of households in the hamlet. The number of better-off Kinh households is higher than that of the Khmer, and the percentage of poor Kinh households is lower than the Khmer. In addition, poor farm households stand at only 27 percent, but the poor landless households make up 45 percent of all households. The percentage of poor farm Khmer and poor landless Khmer households is higher than that of the Kinh.

This classification is derived from the local knowledge and experience of the farmers and the local authority employees, whose ages range from in their forties to their seventies, and include both Kinh and Khmer farmers who have lived in this hamlet between 33 and 55 years, and therefore know well the livelihoods of the local households in the community. As a result, they were able to share their ideas and understanding in order for me to classify the total of 455 households by their status in the hamlet, based on assets such as land holdings, labor, income, house situation and equipment/machinery. As a result of this, I came up with the following classifications for the farmers in the study area: (i) better-off, (ii) medium and (iii) poor, all of whom can be either landed or landless. The results of this research are shown in Table 1 in the index (from a group discussion, October 2007).

3.2 Landholding Changes and the Livelihoods of the Farmers at the Research Site (Thoi Thuan B) before 1975 and up to 1992

The landholding of the farmers in this hamlet was large during the French colonial period, due to the fact that there were large areas of land but that the population was small. Under the Saigon regime the landholdings of the farmers in South Vietnam gradually reduced, through the introduction of many land policy changes (for example during the Presidencies of Ngo Dinh Diem, then Nguyen Van Thieu), including the program entitled 'Land to the Tiller' (Callison 1983, Smith et al. 1967), together with an increasing population. The land reforms of Ngo Dinh Diem allowed each landlord household to allocate a maximum of 130 hectares of land for farming; any excess land was then bought by the State to sell to tenants. Under the different land reforms of Nguyen Van Thieu each landlord household was allowed to have only fifteen hectares of land for farming, while the rest of the land was bought by the State under a sponsor's fund from the USA; this land was offered to the tenant households with a maximum of four hectares per household, and land use rights were certificated by the State. In response to the Land to the Tiller program, some landlords had their large areas of land split between many households, not always within their family, for instance:

In the case of Mr. Chieu, village officials foresaw the land policy changes of President Nguyen Van Thieu. Prior to the dispossession of his land under the Land to the Tiller program, he possessed a large area of land; about 26 hectares of farmland. He offered up only 6.4 hectares of his land to his sons and daughters and retained 2.6 hectare for his own rice production. Therefore, about seventeen hectares of his farmland was claimed (*Truát hưu*) by the Saigon government and was distributed to thirteen landless tenants living along Tac Ca Di canal in Thoi Thuan hamlet. After 1974 the amount of land he owned was smaller than before the land policy change (Si, June 2008).

In the case of Mr. Tran Van Di, a landlord, he had left home permanently for the security of the city during the war between Saigon and the National Liberal Front of South Vietnam; therefore, tenants cultivated rice on his land. Under the Land to the Tiller program, between 1970 and 1974 his land was dispossessed, with 39 hectares along the Xeo Xao canal, five hectares along the Thoi lai canal, and 26 hectares in O Mon district being offered to tenants, and with his daughter receiving compensation. Similarly, Mr. Tran Van Thanh's land was taken by the Government: 34 hectares in Thoi Lai (village, and the teacher Hien had six hectares of his land dispossessed in Tac Ca Di of the same hamlet (Cang, May 2009)

As a result, the landholdings of both the Kinh and the Khmer farmers in this hamlet reduced, though the land left was still enough for one farm household to operate; one farm household was able to retain from one to five hectares of rice paddy field prior to 1975. However, according to the eldest person in the hamlet, the household landholdings here became fragmented after 1974. Landholdings had to be at least ten hectares per household, a scale favorable for profitable rice production. Some landlords lived in other places, yet had land in this hamlet. Although both Kinh and Khmer farmers had the same conditions and difficulties during the war, particularly under the Nguyen Van Thieu regime, the Khmers' livelihoods were more vulnerable than those of the Kinh, due to the limitations of their manpower resources (less education, poor management of households, and farming based). Thus, the landholdings of the Khmer reduced faster than those of the Kinh. (Cang, June 2009)

After reunification of the country and under the socialist regime, the landholdings of the Kinh and Khmer in the Mekong Delta, particularly in the hamlet, came under a land policy whose aim was the egalitarianism of landholdings for every farm household member. To achieve this, the production teams (the lower levels of the Agricultural Cooperative) cut the excess land from the large landowning households and offered it to the landless households or the small landowning households, in which the family laborers (main labor, additional labor, elders and children) were each given a different amount of land. The limitations of this land reform caused some land ownership conflicts among the farmers, because the State emphasized its key role in the arrangement of the agricultural sector under the new socialist orientation. The State played a very important role in the creation of 'transformation' and acted as a development agency. The State simplified everything in the planning process in advance and took a top-down approach to the management of natural resources (farmland) and people (farmers). This approach was criticized by Scott (1998) in *Seeing like a State*. Each family member held a very small piece of land, from 0.05 to 0.2 hectares. In this way, through the use of power relations, some local authorities were bias in their offering of land to their landless relatives, those who had just immigrated into the hamlet, even though they had no farming experience, while the other landless households were given no land. Moreover, some production team authority members agreed with their relatives in advance who would receive the land. In these cases, the receiving relatives implicitly borrowed the land, but did not return it later on. This situation created conflicts among the farmers. This decision made the situation of the farm households unsatisfactory, but the centralized power of the State at that time was very strict. This problem was also criticized by Hirsch (1990), who said that in a local development process, not all the people benefit from the developments; some people do benefit but for others, they are left with less power to control their resources, particularly land, as shown in the context of rural development in Thailand. However, the activities of the production teams in the hamlet were just as formal and the farmers understood that the farmland did not belong to them, and that the agricultural materials were not

enough for appropriate levels of production; therefore, production team members worked less hard and took little responsibility. This was the reason why rice production in the Mekong Delta became very low, leading to a lack of rice available for consumption throughout the whole country, and also leading to the importing of food from overseas countries. The lives of the Kinh and Khmer farmers in the production teams were tough during this period, because their already small landholdings (under one hectare for a farm household), reduced further due to the change in land policy, together with the return of the population to the rural areas from the cities and urban areas after the war. The lives of the farmers were therefore under the control of land policies and rural agricultural production changes during this period. Although the ideology of the State tried to adjust the unreasonable distribution of land by restructuring landholding patterns and tried to solve the unsatisfactory situation of the majority of the farmers in the hamlet by allowing farmers to retain some land, the process under the amended land policies after 1988 allowed the negotiation of land to take place among the farmers, but with the local authorities acting as referees, and as a result, those farmers (the receivers of land due to the land reforms) who were powerless readily became landless during this negotiation process. Gradually, the receivers of the land returned the land to the land owners. For instance, Mr. Cang (household A) owned land before the establishment of the production teams, and Mr. Tay (household B) possessed Mr. Cang's land during the production team period. The production team took 0.6 hectare of Mr. Cang's land and offered it to Mr. Tay in 1985. Then, Mr. Tay cultivated rice on this land until 1988. Under the 1988 land policy, and under pressure from the original landowner (household A), the receiver (household B) of the land had to return the land after negotiating with the owner. Mr. Cang told his story as follows:

"I heard that a farmer (household A) negotiated with household B to receive his own land in Dinh Mon village during 1988-89; therefore, I went to see the leader of the production team and Mr. Tay, and told them that I would take back my land to cultivate rice. After that I sowed his land with rice, he was angry and argued with me about that; and gave his report to the village headmen to solve the problem. I had to attend many meetings to negotiate with him about this matter. Finally, I did succeed in my expectations and have continued to use this 0.6 hectare of land for rice production, but without compensation." (May 2009)

According to Mr. Cang's observations, since returning the land some old landless people have lived on it with their sons or daughters, while some have moved to other places in order to survive; some are still there as hired laborers (doing non-farm or off-farm jobs), earning a subsistence living (May 2009).

3.3 Landholding Changes and the Livelihoods of the Farmers in Thoi Thuan B since the 1993 Land Law

Vietnam has two economic systems under the current Land Law: planned land classification at the macro level and privatization of land use rights at the macro level under economic liberalization. (Otsuka 2002:118-23).

The significance of the 1993 Land Law is that farm household autonomy was established by authorizing long term land use, five rights of land use and entrusting all production stages to the farmer (Nakachi 2001:83).

3.3.1 Status of the Sale, Purchase, Mortgage and Inheritance of Land since the Land Law

Nineteen percent of Kinh households and 25 percent of Khmer households in the hamlet have dealt with the sale, purchase, mortgage and inheritance of land since the 1993 Land Law was introduced. However, some of these changes in land ownership occurred before the law came in. In total, thirteen percent of Khmer households have bought land, which is double the number of cases for the Kinh households at 6.3 percent. However, 27 percent of the better-off Kinh and Khmer households have bought land. Similarly, 62 percent of Khmer households have mortgaged their land, double the number of Kinh households at 31.3 percent, within which 69 percent of the poor households, 37 percent of the medium income and 27 percent of the better-off households have mortgaged. Meanwhile, 25 percent of the Khmer households have sold their land, which is higher than the Kinh households at 18.8 percent. In terms of status 31 percent of the poor, 25 percent of the medium income and nine percent of the better-off households have sold their land. About nineteen percent of Kinh households have inherited land from their parents; which is less than the Khmer households, based upon discussions with them. Inheritance has occurred for about eighteen percent of the better-off households; higher than the percentage for the medium income and poor households.

Through this variation of land ownership, I may interpret that the land holdings have certainly changed for all of the Kinh and Khmer households, that is, the better-off, medium, poor farm and landless households, since the 1993 Land Law was introduced. Since that time, the Khmer have mortgaged, bought and sold their land more than the Kinh. The mortgage and sale of land has occurred more for the poor farm households than for the medium and better-off farm households. In fact, some better-off farm households have also mortgaged and sold their land at the research site. This can be explained by the fact that since the 1993 Land Law was introduced, the distribution of land has been linked, not only to a greater differentiation between rich and poor, but also to the emergence of divisions within the rural agricultural labor force. This has been perhaps the most important process at work in rural areas as a result of the introduction of the market system for both commodities (agricultural products) and labor. The process is now apparent not only in regions where land is abundant, but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, where land is scarce, as at the

research site. The rural population should not and cannot cling forever to such small plots of land in order to maintain its livelihood. Some of the farmers have had to sell their land in order to accumulate enough funds to change their profession, and the market economy has opened up a number of alternatives in this area. In fact, it would be correct to say that it is not poverty, but rather dissatisfaction with their excessively low standard of living that has compelled farmers, both in land-rich and land-poor areas, to seek alternative sources of livelihood. One does not only see poor, incompetent or lazy farmers being forced to sell their land to richer farmers, but also rich farmers who have had to sell to those richer than they. On the other hand, rural poverty is clearly in sharp decline (Phong 1995: 165-84).

Since the 1993 Land Law, which introduced five rights, the liberalization of selling, buying, mortgaging, using and inheriting farmland has taken place among the households at the research site. The Khmer farmers now sell their land more often than the Kinh farmers do. Firstly, they mortgage part of their land when they face problems such as serious diseases, lost production, accidents and disasters; though in some cases both Kinh and Khmer farmers mortgage their land for the wedding of their sons or daughters. Secondly, they may mortgage the rest of their land if the family has continuing financial problems and is building up debts year on year. Finally, the farmers here may sell their farmland, legally or illegally, in order to resolve particular problems. As a result, they may become landless households. Therefore, the pattern of ownership of farmland has changed, with land redistributed between villagers through its trade, purchase and inheritance. Moreover, the polarization of land holding between the better-off and the poor farmers, and between land owning and landless people, has become more of a problem and the hamlet's boundary has been narrowed in recent years, due to the re-division of the hamlet as part of the urbanization process.

The 1993 Land Law might be understood as the official way through which the farmers can solve their problems, having become indebted during the difficult agricultural cooperative period, by allowing them to mortgage or sell their land in order to pay-off their debts. Through the Land Law, land has implicitly become private property and a high value commodity which can be used over the long term; it can be transferred and exchanged with anyone in society. Therefore, since 1995, this change in the pattern of land holding has continued at a pace and has become popular among farmers. Some farmers can now buy more land, while others may have to sell their land for various reasons and in line with varying strategies, leading to a wider gap in terms of the economic situation of the households. The purpose of selling land is to facilitate a change in job or due to a lack of labor in the case of both the better-off farmers and the poorer farm households, or to repay a debt in the case of the poorer ones. The better-off people in Thoi Lai and Co Do district buy farmland along the road between Xeo Xao bridge and Tac Ca Di bridge, which is located in Thoi Thuan B hamlet. Normally they buy land located within 50 to 100 meters of the road to make their homesteads and to develop their non-farm jobs (factories, cafeterias, grocery stores and other services). Since 2000, the sale and purchase of the farmers land in the hamlet has continued at a slow pace because the price of land has increased many fold, from 01 cây of gold in 2000, to 03 cây of gold⁴ and even 05 cây of gold per 0.1 hectare in some places by 2009. In addition, the land resources (a farmer's natural capital) have become scarce and more valuable, while population pressure has increased under urbanization within the hamlet. Thus, the farmers have attempted to retain their valuable farmland for either subsistence, commercial or integrated farming purposes, an approach which has depended on their livelihood capital and the strategies of the various farm household groups, both Kinh and Khmer.

The 1993 Land Law has encouraged the farmers to produce more rice for domestic consumption and for export, and simultaneously forced the transfer of land use rights among the farmers; and between the farmers and entrepreneurs, leading to a greater number of landless people and at the same time, the appearance of larger farms. In fact, more poor farmers, both Khmer and Kinh, have become poor and landless, due in part to the changes brought about by neo-liberalist land and market economy development policies introduced by the Vietnamese State.

The custom of the older generation of both Kinh and Khmer farmers was based on land being a sustainable factor in their livelihoods, under any political regime, especially for the poor farmers, because they had to subsist on a small piece of land under risky conditions. However, this risk has increased in recent years under the development of a global economy. Therefore, all the different groups of farmers (better-off, medium and poor farmers) have had to rent land or rent out their own land, depending on their livelihood strategies, strategies which have had to be flexible at all times. For instance, now, when some of the farm households face problems, they have to sell their land to the better-off households in order to resolve them, while the better-off households may have a parallel strategy where they rent this same land to those who they bought it from, or to others, in order to obtain an income. They therefore continue to possess this land for other strategies, such as for land speculation. In other cases, such as for tenants (the better-off, medium, poor farmers and landless have available family labor), they can rent land from both the large landowners and from small landowners for their income or subsistence, whereas the landowners (large landowners, better-off farmers who lack family labor; medium and poor farmers who lack family labor or who are indebted) rent out their land to tenants in order to obtain income or to pay off debts. Actually, renting and renting out land for rice production or for other purposes has occurred in the hamlet over a long period, since French colonial times. Due to farmland being a scarce resource, landowners do not have a lot of land to rent out; therefore, the landless people and medium or poor farmers now find it difficult to rent land for farming purposes.

I visited Mr. Lieu Huong (a poor landless Khmer) as he prepared the 0.4 hectares of land that he had rented from Mr. Lieu Ty (a better-off Khmer farmer) six years before. This Khmer landowner only rents his land out to Mr. Huong for the Autumn-Winter rice season (with a low rice yield being common) each year, with compensation in-kind of 300 kilograms of paddy. The landowner grows rice once or twice per year depending on the climate. For instance, the previous rice season he fallowed land due to the bad weather. In fact, before, Mr. Huong expected to rent in at least one hectare of land for rice production every year to feed his large family, but the farm land is no longer available. The land holding per farm household here is smaller than it was in the past.

In the case of Mr. Cang (an elder), he is a better-off Kinh farmer who does not have enough labor to produce his own rice, so he rents his land (0.6 hectare) out to his neighbor with compensation in-kind of 1800 kilograms of paddy, instead of the previous 2000 kilogram of paddy per year (June 2009).

3.3.2 Scale of Farm Holdings for the Farm Households in 2007

About 50 percent of the better-off farm households, both Kinh and Khmer, hold at least one hectare of farmland at the research site, a suitable amount for farming, whereas only thirteen percent of the medium farm households hold one hectare or more. However, no poor farm households possess this size of land, either Kinh or Khmer. Therefore, 87 percent of the medium income farm households, both Kinh and Khmer, manage less than one hectare of land. Meanwhile, all of the poor farm households have less than one hectare, and in particular, about 90 percent of the poor Kinh households and 60 percent of the poor Khmer households keep less than 0.5 hectare. As a result, farm size is somewhat small for the medium households and too small for the poor farm households, both Kinh and Khmer. This small size of farm holding makes it difficult for the medium farm households to produce enough and is very risky for the poor households' subsistence. As a result they survive through carrying out extra work beyond farming (both non-farm and off-farm activities), while the better-off farm households either specialize in farming, or diversify their activities.

Table 2 shows the amount of land by different farm households, both Kinh and Khmer, and shows the different farm holding sizes across the various categories of farm household. The farm sizes of the better-off households come out at over 1.5 hectare per farming household, whereas the medium farm households hold a maximum of 1.5 hectares. In contrast, the poor households barely reach less than one hectare, while most in this category possess less than 0.5 hectare. As a result, the better-off farm households work on commercial production rather than subsistence production, whereas the medium and poor households tend to rely on subsistence production. In fact, all the groups of farm households, both Kinh and Khmer, utilize flexible commercial and consumption practices with their agricultural products, especially rice.

These small farm holdings have become even smaller during the periods of agrarian transformation over different historical periods, in particular as the result of significant population pressure and also during the period of state centralization when land was redistributed amongst the peasantry. Besides, a polarization in land holdings has emerged (larger farms for the better-off and less land or a landless situation for the poorer households) through the sale and purchase of land under the 1993 Land Law.

3.3.3 Farm Holding of the Farm Households

Generally, the data in Table 3 shows that the size of farm holdings for the households at the research site is not large enough to maximize the profits made from rice production. Land holding sizes of the farm households are popularly of a small or medium size. More than 50 percent of the farm households have less than one hectare of farmland.

The average size of farmland of 0.6 hectares, is shared fairly equally between Kinh and Khmer farm households in Thoi Thuan B hamlet. This farm holding is too small for a five family member household to produce rice. However, the differences in land holding size are clear between each group of farm households, both Kinh and Khmer. The farm size of the better-off farm households is 0.5 hectare more than that of the poor farms among the Kinh, and this trend is similar for the Khmer, with a variation of 0.6 hectares. I think it is this difference in the size of land holdings which creates the differences in income between the better-off and the poorer farm households. While the land holding of the medium farm households is 0.2 hectare higher than that of the poorer ones, for both Kinh and Khmer, the land holding of the medium households is 0.3 hectare lower than those in the better-off category for the Kinh, but is 0.4 hectare lower in the case of the Khmer. In term of farm holding, the move from being in the medium farm household category to the poorer category is easily made, as the medium households are affected by many external factors, such as unreasonable prices for their inputs and outputs, low agricultural production and climate risks, while the poorer households cannot as easily generate enough income to buy farmland as the medium households. Similarly, it is very hard for the medium households to move into the better-off category simply by expanding their land holding, because the price of farmland is rising. The medium and poor farm households, both Kinh and Khmer, often do not have enough farmland to farm seriously, with the land area per farm household at less than 0.5 hectare for the poorest.

The largest farm holding for the Kinh, at 2.7 hectares, is bigger than the largest Khmer farm household, which is 1.9 hectares. These largest farm holdings of the Kinh and Khmer belong to the better-off farms. The medium farm households of both the Kinh and Khmer have the same maximum farm holding of 1.5 hectares, while the poor farm households of both groups have the same maximum land holding of 0.75 hectares. Normally, the better-off farm households and the top households within the medium category, both Kinh and Khmer, have enough farmland to carry out agricultural production, especially rice production. In general, the smallest farmland size for a farm household is 0.1 hectare for both Kinh and Khmer; and in the various groups of Kinh and Khmer households, the smallest land size of the better-off and medium Khmer households is 0.4 and 0.3 hectares respectively. This information implies that those farm households which have the smallest land area in the better-off and medium income categories, both Kinh and Khmer, also have other income streams, as mentioned previously. In this case their other income streams, such as from off-farm and non-farm work, are more important than their farming income.

3.3.4 Farm Holdings of the Household Members

As the results in Table 3 show, the average farm holding of each household is a little higher for the Kinh farms at 0.15 hectares, than for the Khmers' at 0.13 hectares. The trend in the average land holding per household member increases a little from the poor to the medium households, then again to the better-off farm households: both Kinh and Khmer. Small farm holdings amount to less than 0.2 hectare per household member across the different groups of farm households: both Kinh and Khmer. However, the largest area of farmland, at 0.8 hectares per household member for the Kinh, is nearly double that of the Khmer, land which is distributed mostly in the better-off farm household category. The minimum land holding per household member is under 0.1 hectares; too small for both groups of farm households to earn a living. There are big variations between the largest and the smallest areas of farmland per household member, for both the Kinh and the Khmer. However, this large variation is 0.8 hectare per household member for the better-off Kinh farm households, while the variation is 0.5 hectares per household member for the poor Kinh farm households and the variation is 0.3 hectare per household member for the medium Kinh households, as well as the medium and better-off Khmer households. The lowest variation of 0.2 hectare per household member can be found among the poor Khmer farm households. Actually, these variations in farmland per household member depend on the size of both the farm and the number of family members in a particular farm, and in a particular economic group of farm households. These results reflect the fact that, in reality, the size of land holding is not always directly correlated with the size of the family across the different farm households, either for the Kinh or the Khmer, and often fluctuates in specific cases. For instance, one better-off household has only a small amount of farmland, but their main source of income is from non-farm work and they have a big family of seven members, while another poor farm household also has a small amount of farmland and has a small family of only three members. In this case, the farm holding per household member of the better-off farm household is lower than that of the poor household. Thus, their land holdings per household member are in opposition to the usual trend.

3.3.5 Farmland Holdings of the Farm Household's Main Labor

The data in Table 3 reveals that the average land holding for the farm household's main labor force is 0.2 hectares for both the Kinh and Khmer. The size of farm holding per main labor at my research site seems to have changed little when compared to the size of farm holding before *Doi Moi* (during collectivization), which ranged from 0.15 to 0.2 hectares. However, it does reflect certain changes in landholding, such as the redistribution of land among the farm households in the hamlet after twenty years of renovation and after fifteen years of the 1993 Land Law being in place. Actually, the average farm land size for the main labor increases for the better-off farm households, for both the Kinh and Khmer, while farm holding size of a main labor is lower for the medium and poor farm household in each group. This implies that the 1993 Land Law has directly increased the incentive for the better-off households with higher capital potential to buy farmland for rice production or accumulation, rather than for land speculation, whereas the poor farm households have had to sell their farmland, and the medium households have responded either by buying farmland or by selling their land, the option they choose being based upon their livelihood status. In fact, land holding has become more polarized across the various farmer groups since the Land Law was introduced. However, this polarization of land holdings has not occurred on the scale expected by the Marxist perspective, which states that the penetration of capitalism into the countryside leads to the polarization of land holdings and the development of impersonal wage labor relations, so that the peasantry disappears and the proletarians emerge. Actually, the peasantry here has not disappeared at all; the landless people have emerged and been able to rent farmland from the landowners in order to farm. Meanwhile, small farmers still exist in the context of the fragmentation of farmland, just as Kautsky assumed the persistence of small farm holders, and this situation is still a major phenomenon in Southeast Asia. The persistence of small farms can be attributed to their low costs of production, as they are able to utilize family members for work practices (McLaughlin 1998). Moreover, family farming is far from dead, in either the developed or developing countries. The 'agrarian question' was largely about their disappearance and replacement by capitalist farms, or their subsumption by agribusinesses; however, they have continued to compete successfully with capitalist farms over a long period. Nowadays, economies of scale are largely captured by farms within a normal family-operated range.

Pluri-activity (diversification) is not only a means by which otherwise uneconomic farms survive; it is also a way to increase income and expand opportunities, as farms are able to be managed with less labor. The adaptability and efficiency that family farmers have demonstrated in recent times continues. It is time that the old agrarian question was inverted to become: how and why does family farming survive, and why will it continue to do so? According to Brookfield and Parsons (2007), those who still expect family farming to soon disappear are likely to be disappointed. Their study reveals a constantly renewed set of contradictory forces in rural organization, within which the family mode of organization, arguably perhaps the oldest in all of farming, has shown constant adaptability and therefore resilience. The pluri-active farm family can, if it remains intact, allocate its resources in an efficient manner, and nothing can diminish this competitive advantage. These authors do not expect the coming generation of family farmers to experience conditions any more sympathetic than in the recent past, but they have confidence in the next generation's ability to survive through this period (Brookfield and Parsons 2007, cited in Brookfield 2008). I believe this notion implies that small-scale farming and agricultural land will continue to exist under certain conditions, although the preference for non-farm jobs among the younger generation is now apparent, and modernization and industrialization policies in the rural farmer agricultural sector are now in place in Vietnam.

One important development is that the better-off Khmer farm households have obtained a larger amount of land per household main labor than the better-off Kinh farm households. This reveals the capacity of the Khmer farmers within the development negotiation process, to generate greater income by creating more work and larger social networks in support of their livelihood strategies. Ethnic Khmer people, particularly the poorer farmers and landless, are often active, not always passive as commonly thought. This evidence is strongly supported by scholars like Anan (1989) and Fegan (1989), who indicated that there are a number of relationships between the landowners and the landless peasants in the context of commercial agricultural production, though they recognize and acknowledge the trend towards the concentration of land in the hands of a small number of landowners. However, for them, landless peasants are not victims of agricultural commercialization as classical theorists suggest, but rather active actors who can diversify their livelihood. Although these scholars go beyond the essentialist thinking of the classical theorists, they still consider land as a basic source of a peasant's livelihood. According to them therefore, peasants have motivations to diversify their livelihoods, because they have lost their own land. Thus, in my study site, some of them, both the Kinh and Khmer farm households, have worked to accumulate farmland. Now, a proportion of Khmer farm households are able to adapt their livelihood strategies. I therefore believe that the 1993 Land Law has stimulated the farmers in terms of their agricultural production, at the same time as the accumulation and concentration of farmland or the release of farmland has occurred, but in reality the better-off farm households have had more opportunity to buy farmland than the other farm groups, both Kinh and Khmer, and in contrast, it has been easier for the poor farmers to lose their farmland, due to higher risks. The poor landless people still find it difficult to buy farmland due to the rise in land prices over time, within the competitive liberal market economy.

The average land holding per household main labor has not changed much across the different farm households, both Kinh and Khmer, since the 1993 Land Law was introduced. Nevertheless, the largest labor farm size in Thoi Thuan B hamlet is 1.4 hectares for the Kinh households and 0.6 hectare for the Khmer households, which compares to the holdings of the production teams before 1986. The 1993 Land Law has thus created a large stratification in terms of farmland per household labor across the different groups of Kinh and Khmer farm households. It is now clear that the largest area of farmland per labor among the better-off Kinh households, is double that of the medium and poor households in the Kinh group, and the better-off and the medium households in the Khmer group; and is four times the area of the poor Khmer households. There is also a large variation in the farmland held per labor for each farm household across both the Kinh and Khmer groups. For instance, these large variations show the land holdings as varying between 1.6, 0.7 and 0.4 hectares for the largest and smallest farms among the better-off Kinh households, the medium Kinh and Khmer households, as well as poor Kinh and Khmer farm households respectively.

3.4 Notions of the Agrarian Transformation and the Livelihoods of the Farmers and the Landless Farmers

Like other developing countries, Vietnam has defined the peasant economy as a traditional and backward sector which is stuck in a subsistence way of life. For this reason, it is argued that the peasant economy needs to be transformed into a market-oriented economy. Since the time of *Doi Moi*, a variety of policies and programs have been implemented aimed at rural development based upon the industrialization and commercialization of production in rural areas. It can be argued that a change in State policies has been one of the most important factors in bringing about agrarian transformation in Vietnam (Le 2009).

It can perhaps be said that, through a modification of the ideology contained in Lenin's and Kautsky's works, the Vietnamese Government, in the era of globalization, has tried to convince that, under the impact of neo-liberalism within a socialist orientation, land and labor in rural areas should be rearranged such that the land is concentrated in the hands of a few large households. This process has caused increased landlessness; landless people have become wage laborers in the agricultural or other sectors. Therefore, Vietnam is now following other developed countries and some

developing countries, whose aim is to mechanize the agricultural sector and modernize agriculture in rural areas. So, the Government has tried to improve the situation in three areas: agriculture, rural areas and farmers' lives - in which the debate about farmers' lives has been at the core of the debate. Since 2008, the Government of Vietnam has mobilized farmers to accumulate large areas of farmland, instead of small farm holdings, and to apply mechanization and commercialization practices within the agricultural sector in order to increase the efficiency of production of agricultural products, particularly the production of high quality rice in the Mekong Delta for export. Obviously, this new land policy is likely to increase the polarization of farm holdings and the stratification of livelihood strategies among the farmers in rural society. So, what are likely to be the livelihood trajectories of the small farmer communities and of the small farm labors, under the process of agrarian transformation in Vietnam, which is strongly affected by neo-liberalist policies under globalization? This issue requires global, comprehensive measures whereby the Vietnamese State needs to play a very important role in creating macro-strategies for the country to be able to deal with the impacts of global and regional economic processes upon local people. The ideology of the Vietnamese Government is perfect for the improvement of the three important issues: agriculture, rural area development and farmers' lives in the countryside. In fact, there are a lot of problems in rural areas at present, including: a lack of infrastructure and credit, the application of mechanization, small land holdings, poor channels of commercialization, a lack of markets, unstable and unreasonable prices of inputs and outputs, a poor quality and quantity of agricultural products, low levels of competition, poor organization of agricultural production, seasonal labor, a lack of jobs, as well as unstable livelihoods among the poor small farmers, poor landless people and other social actors. Of course, many problems have appeared as part of the implementation of agricultural policy in rural areas, and the poor, small farmers have been strongly influenced. Therefore, the Government needs to determine what the priority is in term of providing benefits (including social benefits) to the farmers, particularly for the small farmers and poor landless people; an action that will need to involve all the social actors involved in the process of agrarian transformation. To do that, a bottom-up approach from the grassroots level and opening up real democracy for all the social actors involved, needs to be implemented. Otherwise, the small farmers and poor landless people are at risk of being excluded from the benefits of national development. Therefore, ensuring stable livelihoods for the poor, small-scale farmers and the landless people should be of concern and included in future policies. These problems have been proved to exist within the reality of the rural situation, through the conflicts and trade-offs that have taken place in economic, environmental and social terms, under urbanization, the expansion of industrial and commercial zones and the modernization of agriculture; between the farmers, local people and private or collaborative partners, as well as the Government, across the whole country. As a consequence, urbanization has had increasingly positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of households in my study area. There have been different opinions about the impacts of using farmland to build new sections of the working offices of the People's Committee of the Co Do district since 2005, and its school since 2008. Local authorities at the hamlet, small town and district levels, and some farmers, think that the local state has provided a reasonable amount of compensation to the households in the construction area. However, some farmers, and the landless people who live in this area, are not totally satisfied about the land price they have been offered under the compensation package, and have different opinions about transitional costs too. Why is this? It may be because of the unequal benefits being provided. My belief is that when a rural development project is set up by the State, its investigation, implementation and measurement should be looked at carefully, across many aspects, in order to benefit all social actors in the community, and in order to avoid looking at the plan only at the blueprint stage, thus ignoring potential benefits and dis-benefits for the local people. Moreover, compensation paid by the state often does not reflect the actual market value of the land being built upon (Kerkvliet 2006).

Although debates on agrarian transformation are diverse, one can reveal that several contemporary scholars have focused on two key trends of change, these being the "post-peasantry" (Kearney 1996) and "de-agrarianization" (Elson 1997, Rigg 2001). Both approaches try to argue against the classical peasant theories, which suppose that peasants live, produce and reproduce in rural areas, and that their lives are heavily dependent on arable land (Wolf 1966). In contrast, the current theorists of the peasantry argue that land is no longer a necessary condition for rural livelihoods. Elson (1997) and Rigg (2001, 2005) borrow arguments from different scholars in order to convince us that "lives and livelihoods in the Rural South are becoming increasingly divorced from farming and, therefore, from land". In addition, they assert that rural livelihoods have shifted from on-farm to off-farm activities, so that off-farm occupations have become increasingly important as sources of rural household income. As a result, peasant life is no longer bounded and self-contained within the village or rural community. The boundaries between rural and urban, peasant and non-peasant, agriculture and industry, and tradition and modern, have been deconstructed (Kearney 1996). By so doing, current peasantry theorists conclude that "the age of the peasantry in Southeast Asia has come to an end" (Elson 1997).

I argue that agrarian transformation is not only a uni-linear process of commercialization and industrialization of the peasant economy, as foreseen by several current scholars, especially Rigg (2001, 2005) and Elson (1997), and by most developing countries' governments. Instead, the process of agrarian change is actually very complex, and depends upon

the specific historical, social, cultural and even political contexts within which it takes place (Eder 1999, Kitahara 2004).

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

Both Kinh and Khmer farmers suffered the same living conditions and difficulties during the war and under the Saigon regime; however, the Khmers' livelihoods were more vulnerable than those of the Kinh, due to their limitations in terms of manpower resources. After reunification of the country and under the socialist construction process within Vietnam, the land holdings of the Kinh and Khmer in the Mekong Delta, particularly in Thoi Thuan B hamlet, fell under land policies such as the redistribution of land holdings to every farm household member. This policy, implemented under the poor management practices of the production teams, did not stimulate the farmers to produce enough food for the country; therefore, the farmers' livelihoods were difficult at that time.

The significance of the 1993 Land Law is that farm household autonomy has been established, by authorizing long term land use, entitling households to five land use rights, and entrusting all production stages to the farmers. However, land holdings have since changed, certainly for the Kinh and Khmer. Among the better-off, medium income and poor farm households as well as the landless households, the Khmer have mortgaged, bought and sold land more than the Kinh since the Land Law was introduced. The 1993 Land Law encouraged the farmers to produce more rice for domestic consumption and for export, and simultaneously forced the transfer of land use rights (with land as a commodity) among the farmers and between the farmers and the entrepreneurs, and led to a greater number of landless people; with large-scale farms appearing. In fact, both poor Khmer and poor Kinh farmers have become landless due, in part, to the changes brought about by the neo-liberalist land and market economy development policies introduced by the Vietnamese State.

An analysis of 208 farm households in 2008 in the study area showed that farmland size is small for the medium farm households and too small for the poor ones, both for the Kinh and the Khmer. This small size of land holding makes it difficult for the medium farm households to produce enough, and very difficult for the poorer households' to subsist. As a result, they survive by carrying out extra work beyond farming (non-farm and off-farm activities), while the better-off farm households either specialize in farming or diversify their jobs. There are big variations between the largest and the smallest farm size per household member for both the Kinh and Khmer. Moreover, certain changes have occurred in land holding patterns and a redistribution of land holdings among farm households in the hamlet has taken place, after twenty years of renovation and fifteen years after the introduction of the 1993 Land Law. Actually, the average size of farmland per unit of main labor has increased in the better-off households, while the land holding has reduced for Kinh and Khmer medium and poor farm households. The 1993 Land Law has created significant stratification in terms of farmland across the different groups. The largest areas of farmland held per unit of main labor for the better-off Kinh farm households, is double that of the medium and poor farms for the Kinh group, and the better-off and the medium farms for the Khmer group; and is four times the size of the farmland held by the poor Khmer farm households.

The small size of farmland owned by the villagers has become even smaller as a result of agrarian transformation over the different historical periods, together with the increasing population pressure, during which time land policies during the centralization period were aimed at an egalitarian redistribution of land holdings to the peasantry. Since that time land holdings have become polarized (large farms in the hands of the better-off and less or no land for the poor farm households) through the legal sale and purchase of land under the 1993 Land Law. This gap in land holdings has created a big difference in incomes between the better-off and the poorer farm households. However, small farm and agricultural land still exists under certain conditions, although a preference for non-farm jobs among the younger generation of farmers has recently appeared, and modernization and industrialization policies in the rural-farmer-agriculture sector have developed in Vietnam. Therefore, the current changes in the process of agrarian transition in Vietnam require appropriate policies for rural-farmer-agriculture development, together with State national development policies to support those who are challenged by the existing policies, because the poor can easily be excluded from the benefits of the changes in policies. A change in the State policy framework has been one of the most important factors brought about by agrarian transformation in Vietnam. However, we should be aware that this agrarian transformation is not only a uni-linear process of commercialization and industrialization of the peasant economy; agrarian change is very complex and depends upon specific historical, social, cultural and even political contexts. In fact, the ideas and the livelihood strategies of both the Kinh and Khmer farmers within this agrarian transformation process, have to be constantly on the move and be creative and knowledgeable, in order to allow their social networks to adapt to any changes in livelihoods, whether based upon subsistence, commercial or industrial production, and under neo-liberalist developments.

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Table 1. The Different Numbers of Farm Households and Landless Households (Kinh and Khmer) in Various Groups at the Thoi Thuan B Research Site

Kind of Households (HHs)	Better-off (no.)/Rate (%)	Medium /Rate	Poor/Rate	Total
Kinh Farm HHs	77 (43)	55 (31)	45 (26)	177 (100)
Khmer Farm HHs	12 (31)	15 (38)	12 (31)	39 (100)
Landless Kinh HHs	71 (47)	35 (23)	46 (30)	152 (100)
Landless Khmer HHs	3 (3)	22 (25)	62 (72)	87 (100)
Total Kinh HHs	148 (45)	90 (27)	91 (28)	32 (100)
Total Khmer HHs	15 (12)	37 (29)	74 (59)	126 (100)
Total Farm HHs	89 (41)	70 (32)	57 (27)	216 (100)
Total Landless HHs	74 (31)	57 (24)	108 (45)	239 (100)
Total HHs	163 (35)	127 (28)	165 (37)	455 (100)

Source: Group discussion, October 2007

Table 2. Size of Land for the Different Farm Households

Size of Farmland (hectares)	Kinh Farm Household (%)			Khmer Farm Household (%)		
	Better-off	Medium	Poor	Better-off	Medium	Poor
> 1.5	08	-	-	17	-	-
1.0-1.5	37	12	-	33	13	-
0.5 - < 1.0	28	35	12	42	47	43
< 0.5	27	53	88	08	40	57
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N = 208	75	51	41	12	15	14

Source: Household Survey, 2008

Table 3. Land Holdings for the Different Farm Households in Thoi Thuan B Hamlet

Categories		Kinh Farm Households (FHH)				Khmer Farm Households (FHH)			
		FHH	Better-off	Medium	Poor	FHH	Better -off	Medium	Poor
Farmland (hectare)	Ave.	0.65	0.87	0.55	0.34	0.67	1.0	0.61	0.41
	Max.	2.7	2.7	1.5	0.75	1.9	1.9	1.5	0.75
	Min.	0.1	0.15	0.1	0.1	0.15	0.45	0.3	0.15
Farmland/HH	Ave.	0.15	0.18	0.12	0.10	0.13	0.19	0.11	0.09
Member (hectare/person)	Max.	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.34	0.34	0.33	0.25
	Min.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.04
Farmland/Main Labor (hectare/person)	Ave.	0.21	0.25	0.18	0.12	0.22	0.34	0.18	0.14
	Max.	1.6	1.6	0.75	0.75	0.85	0.85	0.75	0.4
	Min.	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.09	0.04	0.05

Source: Household survey, 2007



The Study on the Relations among Perfectionism & Coping Style & Interpersonal Relationship of University Students

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Abstract

The target of this thesis is to study the relations among the perfectionism, the coping style and the interpersonal relationship of university students. The main study methods are to make the use of Frost multi-dimensional perfectionism scale, coping style questionnaire and university student interpersonal relationship comprehensive diagnostic scale to measure 350 university students. The results of the study show that: (1) There is a significant negative correlation between the perfectionism and the mature coping style of university students, whereas there is a significant positive correlation between the perfectionism and the immature coping style. (2) There is a significant positive correlation between the perfectionism and the interpersonal relationship. (3) There is a significant positive correlation between the interpersonal relationship and immature/mixture coping style, whereas there is a significant negative correlation between the interpersonal relationship and mature coping style. (4) The concerning mistakes (CM), the action procrastination (AP), mixture and mature coping style can predict the perplexity of conversation distinctly. (5) The AP, personal standard (PS), immature and mature coping style can predict the perplexity of social intercourse & making friend distinctly. (6) The CM, parent criticism (PC) and mixture coping style can predict the perplexity of dealing with people distinctly. (7) The CM, AP, PS, parent expectation (PE), mixture and mature coping style can predict the perplexity of relating to the opposite sex distinctly. Therefore the conclusion of the thesis is as follows: there are close relations among perfectionism, coping style and interpersonal relationship; the perfectionism and coping style affect the interpersonal relationship of university students to a significant extent.

Keywords: Perfectionism, Coping style, Interpersonal relationship

The perfectionism refers to the tendency that a person cannot take the fact that he has not reached the high standard that is set himself or the perfect situation he expected (Frost, Marten, Lahart and Rosenblate, 1990, p. 449-468). The perfectionism is related with eating disorders, suicidal tendency and attempt, psychological health, depression, nervousness, self-esteem, procrastination and neuroticism (Blatt, 1995, p. 1003-1020.). The coping style refers to the cognitive and behavior style that the individual faces the setback and stress. The coping style is an important regulation factor in the process of psychological stress. The coping style of the individual affects the nature and strength of the stress response and hereafter adjusts the relations between the stress and the strength outcome (Zhang, Che and Li, 2005, p.36-41). The study shows that some dimensions of perfectionism is probably related with the coping style that can adjust well, while some dimensions is probably related with the coping style that adjusts badly. From three dimensions, such as self-oriented perfectionism, others-oriented perfectionism, society-prescribed perfectionism, O'Connor (2003)

studied the relationship between perfectionism and coping style. He finds that self-oriented perfectionism is positively correlated with task-oriented coping, and others-oriented perfectionism is correlated task-oriented coping for women, whereas society-prescribed perfectionism is correlated with emotion-oriented coping, task-oriented coping and society-deviation coping (O'Connor and O'Connor, 2003, p. 362-372). Dunkley studied the relationship between perfectionism and coping style from two dimensions, i.e. adaptive perfectionism and maladaptive perfectionism. He finds that maladaptive perfectionism tends to adopt more maladaptive and avoidance coping styles such as isolation and refusal (Dunkley, Zuroff and Blankstein, 2003, p. 234-252). Interpersonal relationship refers to the direct psychological relationship that is formed in the process of social exchange and interpersonal interaction (Zheng and Yu, 1995, p. 5-21). Perfectionists usually impose high requirements and high standards on others, require others' performance must be perfect, therefore perfectionists usually behave badly in interpersonal relationship. The study of Hill and others shows that others-oriented perfectionism and society-prescribed perfectionism will lead to interpersonal problems (Hill, Zrull and Burlington, 1997, p. 81-103). The studies of YU Ling on Taiwanese youth demonstrate that the stronger the tendency to the perfectionism is, the more problems of interpersonal relationship there are (Yu, 2001, p.18). The relations among the perfectionism, the coping style & interpersonal relationship are explored in this thesis.

1. Object and Method

1.1 Research Object

We got 324 valid questionnaires from a total of 350 university students whom are sampled from Qufu Normal University using stratified random sampling method. Among these students there are 93 males, 231 females and other 20 students who did not provide gender information. The ages of these sample students range from 18 to 25 and their average age is 20.64. Among them, 161 students are freshmen; 84 students are sophomore; 72 students are juniors; 6 students are seniors; other 6 students did not provide grade information.

1.2 Research Method

(1) Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale, MPS-F, 1990

In the Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale compiled by Frost, there are 35 items in total, including concerning mistakes (CM), action procrastination (AP), personal standard (PS), parent expectation (PE), parent criticism (PC) and orderliness (OR). Among them, AP is taken from Mocl questionnaire of Muadsey. PS and OR measure the adaptive (positive) perfectionism while the other 4 items measure the maladaptive (negative) perfectionism. 5 points scoring is used in this scale. The correlation coefficient between this scale and other perfectionism scale is above 0.91, and the coefficient of internal factors consistency is 0.78 – 0.92. This scale is a comparably mature measurement tool in the field of perfectionism studies. At present it is mainly applied in adult groups.

(2) Coping Style Questionnaire

"The Coping Style Questionnaire" compiled by XIAO Jihua and others is adopted in this thesis. There are 62 items altogether, including 6 branch scales, i.e., problem-solving, self-reproach, seeking help, fantasy, avoidance and rationalizing. Among them, problem-solving and seeking help are classified into mature coping style; avoidance, fantasy and self-reproach are classified into immature coping style; rationalizing is classified into mixture coping style (Xiao and Xu, 1996, p. 164-168.).

(3) University Student Interpersonal Relationship Comprehensive Diagnostic Scale

This study adopts Interpersonal Relationship Comprehensive Diagnostic Scale compiled by Professor ZHENG Richang, Beijing Normal University. This questionnaire is used to measure test subjects whether distress exists and the degree of distress in the process of social exchanges. In total there are 28 items, 28 scores in full and 4 categories, i.e., no/little distress (0-8 scores), distress to some extent (9-14 scores), serious distress (15-20 scores), very serious distress (20-28 scores). The scale is divided into 4 branches, i.e. , conversation, social intercourse and making friends, dealing with people, relating to the opposite sex, which measure distress specifics in the above 4 aspects and corresponding degrees. It is tested that its Cronbach a reliability coefficient is 0.86, and its reliability coefficient of spit-half is 0.78. Moreover, it is also possessed of fairly good internal factors consistency and construct validity (Zheng, 1999, p.339-340).

1.3 Research Procedure

Under the guidance of the test supervisor, university students fill in the above questionnaires on the spot in the form of group testing. The questionnaires are collected on the spot. The demographic information of tested students, including major, grade and gender is acquired in the process of testing.

1.4 Statistics Method

The correlation analysis and the regression analysis are given with the use of SPSS 17.0.

2. Result

2.1 The relations among the perfectionism, the coping style and the interpersonal relationship

2.1.1 The correlation analysis on the perfectionism and the coping style

The results of correlation analysis on the perfectionism and the coping style of university students are given in table 1.

According to the results of correlation analysis, the total scores of the perfectionism are correlated distinctly negatively with mature coping styles, whereas they are correlated distinctly positively with immature coping styles; the CM is correlated distinctly negatively with mature coping styles, whereas it is correlated distinctly positively with immature coping styles; the PC is correlated distinctly negatively with mature coping styles; the OR is correlated distinctly positively with mature coping styles, whereas it is correlated distinctly negatively with immature and mixture coping styles; the AP is correlated distinctly negatively with mature coping styles, whereas it is correlated distinctly positively with immature coping styles.

Insert Table 1 Here

2.1.2 The correlation analysis on the perfectionism and the interpersonal relationship

The results are given in table 2.

According to the table 2, the total scores of the perfectionism, the AP, the CM, the PS are correlated distinctly positively with all four dimensions of interpersonal relationship including conversation, social intercourse & making friends, dealing with people and relating to the opposite sex; the PC is correlated distinctly positively with three dimensions including conversation, dealing with people and relating to the opposite sex.

Insert Table 2 Here

2.1.3 The correlation analysis on the interpersonal relationship and the coping style

The results are given in table 3.

According to the table 3, all four dimensions of interpersonal relationship including conversation, social intercourse & making friends, dealing with people and relating to the opposite sex are correlated distinctly negatively with mature coping style, whereas they are correlated distinctly positively with immature coping style; three dimensions including conversation, dealing with people and relating to the opposite sex are correlated distinctly positively with mixture coping style.

Insert Table 3 Here

2.2 The regression analysis of the perfectionism and the coping style to the interpersonal relationship

2.2.1 The stepwise regression analysis with conversation as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

The results are given in table 4.

According to the table 4, after submitting the regression equation with the CM, the AP of the perfectionism, and mixture coping style and mature coping style as independent variables, we finds that the result of the R-square is 0.226. That is to say, these four variables can predict 22.6% variance on the perplexity of conversation. Among them, the CM has the best prediction and its R-square result is 13.5%.

Insert Table 4 Here

2.2.2 The stepwise regression analysis with social intercourse & making friends as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

The results are given in table 5.

According to the table 5, after submitting the regression equation with the AP, the PS of the perfectionism, and immature coping style and mature coping style as independent variables, we finds that the result of the R-square is 0.152. That is to say, these four variables can predict 15.2% variance on the perplexity of social intercourse & making friends. Among them, the AP has the best prediction and its R-square result is 11.4%.

Insert Table 5 Here

2.2.3 The stepwise regression analysis with dealing with people as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

The results are given in table 6.

According to the table 6, after submitting the regression equation with the CM, the PC of the perfectionism, and mixture coping style as independent variables, we finds that the result of the R-square is 0.216. That is to say, these three variables can predict 21.6% variance on the perplexity of dealing with people. Among them, the CM has the best

prediction and its R-square result is 18%.

Insert Table 6 Here

2.2.4 The stepwise regression analysis with relating to the opposite sex as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

The results are given in table 7.

According to the table 7, after submitting the regression equation with the CM, the AP, the PE, the PS of the perfectionism, and mature coping style and mixture coping style as independent variables, we finds that the result of the R-square is 0.162. That is to say, these five variables can predict 16.2% variance on the perplexity of relating to the opposite sex. Among them, the CM has the best prediction and its R-square result is 8.8%.

Insert Table 7 Here

3. Discussion

This research shows that to university students the perfectionism is correlated to the coping style to some extents. The more serious perfectionism problems a university student has, the more possibly he will deal with kinds of problems immaturely rather than maturely in his studies and life. As to specific dimensions of the perfectionism, the CM and the AP are correlated distinctly positively with immature coping styles such as self-reproach, fantasy and avoidance. That is to say, when a university student doubts his ability to deal with all kinds of things well, he tends to adopt the immature coping style to avoid making mistakes. Furthermore, the OR is correlated positively with the mature coping style. The more orderly university students tend to be, the more possibly they will adopt practical ways to deal with problems.

Moreover, the perfectionism of university students is correlated distinctly positively with their interpersonal relationship. It is indicated that the more serious perfectionism problems a university student has, the more interpersonal problems he will have too. The interpersonal relationship is distinctly negatively correlated with mature coping styles whereas it is distinctly positively correlated with immature coping styles. This conclusion indicates that those students perplexed by interpersonal relationship problems usually adopt immature coping styles. That is to say, it is the immature coping style that exactly causes interpersonal relationship problems. Therefore only after university students are guided to change coping styles and adopt mature coping styles, can they change their situation of interpersonal relationship.

The regression analysis further reveals that the CM, AP, mixture and mature coping style can predict the perplexity of conversation. Among these four above-mentioned dimensions the CM has the highest predication and can explain 13.8% variance on the perplexity of conversation. Those university students who score high on the dimension of CM usually want to achieve the goal but meantime worry about making mistakes. Their personality is characterized by less self-esteem and confidence (Zi, 2003, 35). This leads to their obstacle on the conversation and expressing themselves, and thus the perplexity of the conversation is caused. Therefore more attention should be paid to the dimension CM of perfectionism so that university student perplexity on the conversation could be relieved. The AP,PS, immature and mature coping style can predict the perplexity of social intercourse & making friend. Among these four above-mentioned dimensions the CM has the highest predication and can explain 15.2% variance on the perplexity of social intercourse & making friend. That is to say, those university students who score high on the dimension of AP usually doubt that they can deal with all kinds of things well, so they feel uneasy in the interpersonal relationship and become more nervous in the unfamiliar circumstance. Their interpersonal relationship gradually turns out to be worse. The CM,PC and mixture coping style can predict the perplexity of dealing with people; the CM,AP, PE, PS, mixture and mature coping style can predict the perplexity of relating to the opposite sex. The CM has the highest predication in these two regression analysis and it can explain the variance of 18% and 8.8% respectively. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the dimension CM of perfectionism so that university student perplexity on the interpersonal relationship could be relieved.

In conclusion, there exists close relations among perfectionism, coping style and interpersonal relationship. What extent the perfectionism of a university student has come to affects his corresponding coping style. There is significant positive correlation existed between the perfectionism and the interpersonal relationship. The coping style has close relations with the interpersonal relationship too. When university educators carry out psychological health education, they should bring the positive effects of the perfectionism into full play and meanwhile avoid the negative effects of the perfectionism; furthermore they should take corresponding measures to strengthen training and cultivating the mature coping compatibility of university students, and improve their interpersonal interaction ability; and thus the overall mental health level of university students should be improved greatly.

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Table 1. The correlation analysis on the perfectionism and the coping style

	PE	OR	PC	PS	CM	AP	Total Scores of Perfectionism
Mature	-0.041	0.110*	-0.183**	-0.105	-0.251**	-0.214**	-0.205**
Immature	0.000	-0.193**	0.101	0.099	0.146**	0.145**	0.135**
Mixture	-0.009	-0.203**	0.082	0.025	0.092	0.081	0.064

Note: *P<0.05 **P<0.01 ***P<0.001

Table 2. The correlation analysis on the perfectionism and the interpersonal relationship

	PE	OR	PC	PS	CM	AP	Total Scores of Perfectionism
Conversation	-0.012	-0.048	0.162**	0.257**	0.371**	0.360**	0.329**
Social Intercourse & Making Friends	0.050	0.050	0.083	0.261**	0.239**	0.342**	0.297**
Dealing with People	0.000	-0.006	0.286**	0.344**	0.424**	0.287**	0.387**
Relating to Opposite Sex	-0.103	-0.007	0.120*	0.249**	0.301**	0.296**	0.261**

Note: *P<0.05 **P<0.01 ***P<0.001

Table 3. The correlation analysis on the interpersonal relationship and the coping style

	Conversation	Social Intercourse & Making Friends	Dealing with People	Relating to Opposite Sex
Mature	-0.240**	-0.192**	-0.115*	-0.205**
Immature	0.177**	0.141*	0.195**	0.132*
Mixture	0.178**	0.056	0.190**	0.127*

Note: *P<0.05 **P<0.01

Table 4. The regression analysis with conversation as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	R	R-Square	Bata	F	t
Conversation	CM	0.371	0.135	.025	51.465	3.608***
	CM AP	0.427	0.177	.203	35.715	3.616***
	CM AP Mixture	0.448	0.193	.206	26.731	3.919***
	CM AP Mixture Mature	0.485	0.226	-.207	24.540	-3.817***

Note: ***P<0.001

Table 5. The regression analysis with social intercourse & making friends as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	R	R Square	Bata	F	t
Social Intercourse & Making Friends	AP	0.342	0.114	0.225	42.648	3.692***
	AP Mature	0.363	0.126	-0.176	24.340	-3.147**
	AP Mature Immature	0.390	0.144	0.149	19.109	2.706**
	AP Mature Immature PS	0.403	0.152	0.117	15.459	1.994*

Note: *P<0.05 **P<0.01 ***P<0.001

Table 6. The regression analysis with dealing with people as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	R	R Square	Bata	F	t
Dealing with People	CM	0.424	0.180	0.359	70.728	6.569***
	CM Mixture	0.451	0.203	0.147	40.941	2.960**
	CM Mixture PC	0.464	0.216	0.123	29.342	2.258*

Note: *P<0.05 **P<0.01 ***P<0.001

Table 7. The analysis with relating to the opposite sex as dependent variable, dimensions of perfectionism and coping style as independent variable

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	R	R Square	Bata	F	t
Relating to the Opposite Sex	CM	0.301	0.088	0.091	32.153	1.285**
	CM AP	0.349	0.116	0.149	22.190	2.440**
	CM AP PE	0.378	0.135	-0.178	17.733	-3.311* *
	CM AP PE Mature	0.395	0.145	-0.191	14.747	-3.354* *
	CM AP PE Mature Mixture	0.418	0.162	0.159	13.495	2.911**
	CM AP PE Mature Mixture PS	0.430	0.170	0.146	12.015	1.996*

Note: *P<0.05

**P<0.01

Empirical Study on Consuming Psychology and Consuming Behavior of Contemporary University Students Taking Shandong Province as an Example

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Abstract

As a sort of knowledge, emotion and disposition in the social living conditions, consuming psychology and behavior is not only a wind vane for social development to a certain extent, but also a barometer of the spirit of the time. Therefore, study on consuming psychology and the consuming behavior it affects becomes a significant and unique perspective to analyze state of development of the society and orientation of behaviors of its social members. University students are the vanguard of the mass culture and consumption, so study and analysis in their consuming psychology and behavior is helpful to come to know the consumer trends of contemporary young people, and even the whole society. In this article, the author adopts the research method with combination of questionnaire survey and interview, and conducts a sample survey on university students in several colleges and universities in Shandong Province. The survey indicates the following characteristics of consumption among university students: prominent trend of consumption diversification, obvious disequilibrium of consumption, co-existence of consumption individuation and belongingness, practical consumption being the main stream, increasing consumption of intercourse and entertainment. Enlightenment and recommendations: To cultivate and strengthen the Financial Quotient of university students, to establish scientific consumption value and to advocate green consumption.

Keywords: University students, Consuming psychology, Consuming behavior, Empirical study

1. Introduction

As a sort of knowledge, emotion and disposition in the social living conditions, consuming psychology and behavior is not only a wind vane for social development to a certain extent, but also a barometer of the spirit of the time. Therefore, study on consuming psychology and the consuming behavior it affects becomes a significant and unique perspective to analyze state of development of the society and orientation of behaviors of its social members. University students are the vanguard of the mass culture and consumption and are propagator and practitioner of consumption in the society in future, so study and analysis in their consuming psychology and behavior is helpful to come to know the consumer trends of contemporary young people, and even the whole society. The golden stage of their physical and mental development determines their huge consumer demands and sensitive consumption idea. The stage of learning development endows them with a major task of study, so they are unable to realize economic independence, which constrains their consumption desire and consumption choice in a certain degree. Study on their consuming psychology and behavior has important social significance to conducting necessary consumption education, improving their ability of scientific consumption and optimizing the social consumption mode.

2. Summary of sample survey and introduction to the sample

In order to understand actual condition of university students' consumption, the author selects respectively several colleges and universities from the east, middle and west of Shandong Province, and chooses testees with the method of stratified cluster sampling. She altogether sends out 1600 questionnaires, and takes back 1457 questionnaires, with a coefficient of recovery of 91.06%. Among the testees, there are 739 urban university students, 718 rural university students, including 707 male students and 750 female students. There are 300 freshmen, 380 sophomores, 390 juniors and 387 seniors, their ages ranging between 18 and 25, with an average age of 21.80.

3. Family background of contemporary university students and sources of their expense

Expense of contemporary university students is the realistic foundation for study on consumption, whereas sources of expense affect their consumption manners and habits. This survey commences with the two major sources of family support and personal income. Considering the diversity of family backgrounds, the author selects urban development level and monthly family income as the research data which are closely interrelated with contemporary university students' personal consumption. According to the data, among all university students investigated, there are 50.7% rural university students, 10.2% county and town university students, and 39.1% university students from large cities. There are 25.2% university students whose monthly family average income is below 1000 Yuan, 35.7% between 1000 and 3000 Yuan, 28.7% between 3000 and 5000 Yuan, 9.8% between 5000 and 10000 Yuan, and 0.6% above 10000 Yuan.

In reply to the question "In the past one year, how much altogether you have got from your family and your friends and relatives?", it is indicated, 74.3% of university students get an amount of more than 6000 Yuan from their family, and a vast majority of the cost of living for university students comes from financial support from their family and friends and relatives. (See Table 1)

Insert Table 1 Here

In reply to the question "How much you have earned by means of part-time jobs or other channels in the past one year?", it is indicated, 79.4% of university students earn an amount below 1000 Yuan, and only 16.3% of young students earn an amount between 1001 Yuan and 3000 Yuan (See Table 2), which corresponds with the above data that indicate expense of most university students comes from their family support.

Insert Table 2 Here

4. Articles of consumption among contemporary university students and influential factors

For convenience of research, the author classifies daily consumption of university students into five types: living necessities (including expenses on food and articles for daily use), learning (mainly including expenses on certificate examination, purchase of books, and training, etc), amusement and leisure (including expenses on sports, tourism, games, Karaoke, etc), social intercourse (including expenses on amoureux, intercourse with classmates and friends) and fashion (including expenses on top quality costumes, makeup, mp3, CD, and computers which are fashions chased after). The statistical data indicate that, living necessities account for an absolute proportion of daily consumption among university students, and the other four categories of average consumption are mainly concentrated within the range of 70 to 100 Yuan. The category of learning accounts for a proportion of 11.6% of the total consumption, amusement and leisure 13.5%, intercourse 13.8%, and fashion accounts for 14%. It can be seen from Table 3 that, average consumption amount of learning is lower than the other four categories. The proportion of social intercourse and fashion is larger.

Insert Table 3 Here

In order to understand factors which influence selection and judgment of consumption, the author of this article conducts a depth interview with several university students, and comes to have an idea about factors that affect their consumption. The author designs the questionnaire and conducts the survey according to the five major influential factors summarized, and adopts the method of five-level hierarchy judgment. The survey results are as follows in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 Here

It can be seen from Table 4, there are several factors that affect university students' daily consuming behavior. The proportion of university students who regard influence of "living necessity" on their consumption propensity as common, large and tremendous is respectively 24.1%, 40.1% & 26.1%; the proportion of those who regard influence of "family condition" on their consumption propensity as common, large and tremendous is respectively 28.1%, 34.5% & 29.8%; the proportion of those who regard influence of "personal likes" on their consumption propensity as common, large and tremendous is respectively 34.2%, 37.0% & 13.4%; these are influential factors which rank the first three factors. Such a choice by university students reflects that family condition is the foundation, satisfaction of personal needs is the principal part, and personal preference is the primary influential factor of choice. Although advertising and opinions of others are also factors affecting decision-making of consumption, they are not decisive. It can be said that, consumption of university students mostly commences from reality, and starts with rationality.

5. Analysis in characteristics of consuming psychology and behavior of contemporary university students

From the above data, it can be seen that, cost of living of university students mainly comes from their families. Restricted by objective conditions and their own situation, a large majority of university students cannot resolve their economic problems, and only a minority of them depend upon themselves to obtain economic independence. In terms of items of consumption, survival consumption of university students accounts for an increasingly declining proportion, consumption of development occupies a predominant position, and consumption of entertainment becomes more and

more outstanding. University students can no longer be satisfied with basic living consumption, and the products of their consumption are varied. Among factors which affect consumption of university students, constraint of family background and income is still the major one. The consciousness of "I make the decision" in daily consumption is on the increase, and the degree of influences by the environment and the social group becomes increasingly obvious. Consuming psychology and consuming behavior of university students manifest a brand-new concept.

5.1 Outstanding tendency of diversification of consumption

With development of social economy, living conditions of human being is continually improved and a large majority of families provide necessary economic support for their children. Almost 80 percent of university students acquire an economic support exceeding 6000 Yuan from their families each year. That is to say, the basic necessity of their learning and living is satisfied. Living necessities of university students account for 47.1%, and the proportion of such sorts of consumption as study, amusement and leisure, fashion and intercourse, etc, exceeds 50%. Daily consumption of university students is rich and varied, and entertainment, sports, mobile phone, computer and new types of IT products become the hot spot of their consumption. Such consumption as amativeness consumption, tourism consumption, online consumption and beauty consumption, etc, becomes the new favorite of contemporary university students.

5.2 Obvious disequilibrium of consumption

Since university students come from different areas and different families, the disequilibrium of regional economic development and disequilibrium of industries result in disequilibrium of family income. In addition, the structures of their families are different. Therefore, disequilibrium and diversity of consumption exists among university students. It is indicated from the data, the least that a university student spends each year is only 2988 Yuan, whereas the most expense is as high as 35000 Yuan each year, with a difference over ten times. Part of university students are not moderate in consumption, whereas it is already very difficult for some university students to meet basic living necessities, and they can hardly pursue a better material life. The reality of great gap between the rich and the poor determines the tendency of great difference between their consumption.

5.3 Co-existence of individuality and belongingness of consumption

In the current diversified society, people are more inclined to choosing goods and services based on their interest and hobby, aesthetic standard and delight of life. As a particular young and forward group, university students bring more emphasis to their individuality in the process of consumption, and show their stuff. From the investigation data, influence of "personal likes" upon daily consumption of university students is just second to living necessity and family condition, ranking the third. At the time when university students pursue individuality of consumption, they also wish to obtain recognition from the surrounding, which, if reflected in the pattern of consumption, is to listen to opinions of others and to select the goods considered fine by most of people. This survey also reflects such a feature that, the proportion of common influence and large influence of others' opinion on consumption is respectively 41.2% and 13.9%. Belongingness of consumption can maintain the feeling of satisfaction to a greater extent when manifesting individuality so as to avoid more contradiction and conflict in psychology.

5.4 Practical consumption is still the main stream.

Because most university students cannot depend on themselves to burden their expense, and the desire of consumption is confined, they are usually quite prudent when spending money. They tend to make a rational and appropriate consumption according to the economic conditions of their own families. Price, quality and fashion are the major factors to attract university students to consume. From the results of the survey, it can be seen that, more than 70% of university students regard living necessity and family condition as the major factors considered in their daily consumption, and to be particular about practical and rational consumption is still the main consumption concept of contemporary university students. The "Post-80s" generation of university students takes a realistic attitude towards the society, and they tend to regard interest as the main part. They look upon consumption from the perspective of practicalness and utility, so that practical consumption heads the list of successful candidates among university students.

5.5 Increasing consumption of intercourse and entertainment

Intercourse and entertainment consumption is on the increase day by day, which reflects the results of development of the times and individuals. Firstly, consumption hot spot pursued in the society is in succession, patterns of consumption are rapidly upgraded, and the spending spree of entertainment spreads over university students. Secondly, multiple channels of capital sources also speed up change of consumption structure. Contemporary university students have gone out of the situation of "busying themselves in the classics" in the past, and the wave of part-time jobs and earning money has become an unevadable phenomenon among university students. Multiple channels of capital sources guarantee more seed money for university students to spend, and their consumption of entertainment becomes more and more. Thirdly, from the perspective of psychological condition of university students, they are faced up with larger pressure than those university students at any time before. In face with such pressure difficult to get away from, to seek for psychological balance becomes necessary. "Emotional consumption" and "humane consumption" can bring relief and spice, which decides that increase in expense of intercourse becomes necessary.

6. Enlightenments and recommendations

6.1 Cultivation and intensification of Financial Quotient of university students

Financial Quotient refers to intelligence of one in terms of finance, namely, rational recognition and utilization of money. According to experts, the concept of Financial Quotient, together with Intelligence Quotient and Emotion Quotient, are three indispensable qualities in the modern society, and is also a subject in modern education that cannot be ignored or avoided. It can be understood that, Intelligence Quotient reflects the survival capacity of human being as common creature, whereas Emotion Quotient reflects the survival capacity of human being as social creature, and Financial Quotient reflects the survival capacity of human being as an economic man in the economic society. Financial Quotient mainly contains the following two aspects: firstly, the capacity of correct recognition of money and the rule of money; secondly, the capacity of correct use of money and the rule of money. We should focus on the content of these two aspects. Specifically, we should design vivid and vigorous teaching patterns in teaching activities of consuming psychology classes and moral education classes, and lead students to be consumers with commercial mind, to learn to manage financial matters, to be particular about consumption ethics and to adapt themselves to requirements of the economic society.

6.2 Establishment of scientific consumption value

Considering the characteristics of diversity and disequilibrium of consumption among contemporary university students, a moderate education should be conducted upon them with different levels. The so-called moderate education refers to correspondence of consumption with development of production capacity and family income, which includes the two meanings of not restricting consumption and non pre-mature consumption. The education of "thriftiness with limit and rational consumption" for the consumption idea among university students is aimed at enabling them to come to realize, consumption should not only avoid excessive constraint, but should also avoid excessive consumption. University students should have independent consciousness and the concept of rational consumption, and should assume the responsibility towards the society, towards others and towards themselves.

6.3 Advocation of green consumption

University students are endowed with higher cultural quality, and they will play a significant role in the social life in the future. They are not only the practitioners of green consumption, but also best propagators and advocates. To establish the idea of green consumption, one should not only come to realize the inseparable relations between individual consumption and social sustainable development, ecological balance and environmental protection, but should also be aware of the significance of ecological civilization and environmental protection. Besides, they should practice consumption of environmental protection, insist on appropriate consumption, object to pre-mature consumption, Bandwagon consumption, persist in rational consumption, and oppose to blind consumption and "face-saving" consumption.

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Table 1. Proportion of the amount of money obtained from their families by contemporary university students

Amount	Basically none	Below 1000 Yuan	1001-3000 Yuan	3001-6000 Yuan	6001-9000 Yuan	9001-12000 Yuan	12001-15000 Yuan	Above 15001 Yuan
Proportion (%)	3.0	4.3	8.1	10.3	17.3	24.1	15.4	17.5

Table 2. Proportion of the amount of money earned by contemporary university students themselves

Amount earned	Basically none	Below 1000 Yuan	1001-3000 Yuan	3001-6000 Yuan	6001-9000 Yuan	9001-12000 Yuan	Above 12001 Yuan
Proportion (%)	48.3	31.1	16.3	2.3	1.4	0.4	0.2

Table 3. Average monthly consumption amount for various consumption activities by contemporary university students

	Study	Amusement and leisure	Intercourse	Fashion	Living necessity
Average consumption amount (Yuan/month)	76.94	89.95	91.46	93.03	312.89
Proportion of the total consumption (%)	11.6	13.5	13.8	14	47.1

Table 4. Proportion (%) of factors that affect daily consumption trend of contemporary university students

Factors affecting trend of consumption	slight	minor	common	large	tremendous
Living needs	2.8	6.9	24.1	40.1	26.1
Family conditions	1.9	5.7	28.1	34.5	29.8
Personal likes	6.8	8.6	34.2	37.0	13.4
Advertising	20.5	31.4	29.3	10.5	8.3
Opinions of others	13.7	28.9	41.2	13.9	2.3

Cultural Invasion and Cultural Protection: Should Chinese Celebrate Christmas

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Abstract

This article centers on the celebration of Christmas, the most important western festival, in the Chinese mainland to look at globalization in a cultural dimension. It also analyzes signs of cultural invasion from the west and provides approaches to cultural protection in China under the background of globalization.

Keywords: Christmas, Cultural identity, Cultural invasion, Cultural protection, Globalization

1. Introduction

On 23 December 2006, the College English Test Band 6 selected a culture-related title “The Celebration of Western Festivals” for its writing part. That such a nation-wide test selects this topic just two days before Christmas shows a growing number of people in China are immersed in the thrilling atmosphere of the upcoming Christmas. In comparison with the Spring Festival, the equally high status is given to Christmas by some of them. The popularity of a western festival in China also reflects that our cultural identity is fading bit by bit because of “alien” culture from the west. Thus cultural protection should be highlighted in the era of globalization to counter such kind of cultural colonization in avoidance of the dissolution of our 5,000-year Chinese tradition. This article centers on the celebration of Christmas, the most important western festival, in the Chinese mainland to reflect cultural invasion from the west and provide approaches to cultural protection in China with the acceleration of globalization in 21st century.

2. The Concepts of Cultural Identity and Globalization

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner’s English-Chinese Dictionary*, festivals are days or time of “religious or other celebration” in the east and west. “In the history of a nation, people record the most meaningful days for the survival, development and reform of a whole nation. When the same date comes next year, people bear a special mood, perform some rituals and even organize some activities to memorize it. As such memorizing activities are repeated consecutively for a long period of time, such celebration on the special date will become a custom, thus a festival comes into being and goes down from one generation to the next.” (Qiu, 1994, p. 484) Here, festival celebration can characterize cultural identity, which “is created when a group affiliation is enacted, when an individual or group members claim membership in one or more groups” and “is based on what members of a group or community say and think and feel as they affiliate with others who share their history, origins, or biology” (Collier, 2003, p. 418).

Collier states that festival celebration is one source of information about “how people use cultural membership to establish community” (2003, p. 427), so Spring Festival celebration may strengthen our cultural identity, while Christmas may have an opposite effect. Furthermore, “Cultural identities are both enduring and changing.” (Collier, 2003, p. 421) So there is no culture which remains static for ever, neither does any culture lose its identity overnight. Due to this, the loss of one’s cultural identity---ethnic identity or national identity---is an imperceptible process, but once people within one culture sense or find out their culture is defamiliarized with the past one, their culture has already broken. In other words, their cultural identity is no longer complete. It may happen as a result of cultural invasion with the process of globalization. The cultural assimilation or the disappearance of aboriginal cultures in Africa, Australia and North

America are just examples. Now such kind of loss of Chinese membership is happening quietly throughout the Chinese mainland. What should be emphasized that the concept of cultural identity here does not refer to individual identity but collective identity, though Llosa (2007) doubts such connotation for two reasons. First, collective identity is “an ideological fiction”; second, “the individual differences prevail over the collective characteristics when individuals are examined on their own terms and not as epiphenomena of the collectivity.” In fact, these two reasons can be put aside if the consideration on culture identity is not geared to politics and individual membership. And this article has left these factors out of focus for this purpose, for example, the similar things as is so religiously related and politically oriented in Huntington’s *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* will not be applied to explaining status quo in China.

As for globalization, a buzzword today, Tomlinson develops a particular concept of globalization, defining it as a “complex connectivity”, or “the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life” (1999, p. 2). Referring to globalization in this way, Tomlinson is concerned with the manner in which cultural relations and representations are effected by and, at the same time, help constitute, global connectivity. Globalization, he suggests, cannot be understood simply in terms of increased mobility around the world or through the development of electronic networks, but must be set in relation to a host of cultural practices that are embedded within the “mundane” experience of everyday life, from shopping at the supermarket to watching the evening news. He also relates one result of globalization to deterritorialized identity, one form of cultural identity fading, and points out “the impact of globalization is felt not in travel but in staying at home.” (1999, p. 128) We can easily find that globalization impacts people everywhere, in city or at countryside, and all kinds of people, at the low or high scale of the social ladder. Of course, the impact varies for geographical and social factors. Take Christmas celebration for example, it is more popular among urban young people exposed to the western culture. Surely, in the global “cultural supermarket”, we may choose traditional and familiar products, or try something totally new and cool only if we can AFFORD them.

3. Cultural Invasion in China

3.1 Reasons for Christmas Celebration

At present, Chinese people celebrate Christmas mainly on streets and campus, which is different from western people who do at home. Also, Christmas Day has not been listed as a legal national holiday yet. Westerners observe Christmas mainly from the perspective of family reunion and religion. But in our Chinese mainland, there are different purposes for celebrating Christmas.

On campus, young people tend to find as many chances as possible for getting together, strengthening cohesion, activating campus atmosphere, constructing more diversified campus cultures. Furthermore, learning English has its high popularity in Chinese mainland and mastering English has become a must for college graduates to hunt even an average job. At the same time, more and more universities are advocating a cultural orientation to learning a foreign language. Naturally, celebrating the most important western festival is a preferred teaching method.

In recent two decades, Christmas celebration has gained increasing popularity in China with the acceleration of globalization. Celebrating Christmas, in practice, promotes the intercultural communication and increases our knowledge of the west. In addition, as a wonderful business opportunity just like what happens in the west, it benefits our Chinese businessmen, corporate owners, sales clerks and peddlers alike.

3.2 Signs of Cultural Invasion

As for customs and festivals, we Chinese people, especially our youth, are so much attached not only to Christmas, but also to St. Valentine’s Day, Halloween and other western customs and festivals, that we forget we are Chinese and try to come closer to the western culture in observing western festivals and even imitate the western people, especially US American people's daily behavior, such as chewing gums, tattooing the body, and hip-hopping.

Concerning business, December is a shopping month for Christmas in the west. Now the same thing happens in China. In December, we may easily find everyday articles sell together with cheap Christmas toys or Christmas cards. At the entrance of any large supermarkets, we are welcomed by Santa Claus. And we are accustomed to Christmas “discount” marketing at a restaurant, a hotel, a healthcare institution and a theme park. So what we eat, drink, use, and play with is all earmarked by Christmas in December.

Take a look at public places and facilities. In December, almost every inch of public places at downtown is decorated with red and white, two characteristic colors for Christmas, which can be found no matter at plazas and cafes with neon lights; or at shabby water closets, inns, and schools; or on any type of traffic facilities, such as airplanes, trains, cars, ships, subway, and taxis; or at church which becomes a special place for thousands of non-Christian Chinese to sense the most living western culture on Christmas Eve.

With regard to mass media, several long-expected and extremely expensive Christmas moving pictures are imported

from Hollywood each year and always boast a profitable ticket box. Hong Kong, Taiwan and even the mainland will also shoot such movies and are also welcomed with cheers in the mainland.

As for TV ads, in December too many “For Christmas” are imbedded, not to mention those images and videos on Santa Claus and Christmas trees.

The most influential media should be Internet. When we log on the dot coms in December, Santa Claus flashes out and Mary fades in with the beautiful music of “Jingle Bell”. The most eye-catching words always are “Christmas”. Even Google.com.cn (Chinese station of Google) redesigns its “face” as a lovely Santa Claus at the end of 2006.

Mobile phone, as a newly rising media for SMS (Short Message Service) and image transferring, provides a rather convenient way to express Christmas wishes to families, friends, and colleagues.

3.3 The hidden reasons and negative influence of cultural invasion

Llosa (2007) writes that there is no doubt that globalization presents many problems of a political, judicial, administrative, and cultural nature. In the information era, globalization brings skyrocketing increase in the amount of products output, capital output and cultural output. These three influence each other. Nowadays, in the mainland, celebrating Christmas has been more a result of cultural invasion, than cultural output. It is at this point that globalization becomes a problem from the cultural identity perspective:

In the global economy, culture has almost become only a one-way operating manner of business; cultural goods and services produced by rich and powerful countries have invaded all of the world’s markets, placing people and cultures in other countries, who are unable to compete, at a disadvantage. These other countries have difficulties in presenting the cultural goods and services, which they have produced to the world market and therefore are not able to stand up to competition. The natural result is that these countries are unable to enter the areas of influence occupied by multinational companies of developed countries. (Örnek, 2007, pp. 4-5)

When we establish plants to make Christmas toys with or without foreign investment and when we pay for these toys, we have bought some concepts of the western culture. We also consume these foreign concepts and enjoy ourselves with those exotic festivals by losing bit by bit our cultural identity, our belonging, and our spiritual home.

4. Cultural Protection

4.1 The Importance of Cultural Protection

A slogan which is frequently heard is “What is more nationally defined will be more internationally accepted”, so to keep our cultural identity is to keep our own cultural integration and cultural life, and is also to strengthen the cohesion of 56 nationalities. The diversity of worldwide cultures is one end of intercultural communication, so we should put our Chinese identity at the core of our hearts while celebrating Christmas.

4.2 Approaches to Cultural Protection

In a broad sense, an appropriate nation-wide cultural policy, including language policy, can be made. On this point, France and Canada may be good examples to follow. According to Rothkopf (1997), “France and Canada have both passed laws to prohibit the satellite dissemination of foreign-meaning American content across their borders and into the homes of their citizens.” Both countries are trying to fight against cultural hegemonism from the USA. Second, cultural consideration should outweigh business consideration, that is, the concept of “Money has the highest priority” may be thrown away. For example, in 2006, there are two Lovers’ Days (on July 15 of the lunar calendar) because of a leap month. But both Lovers’ Days were so popularized by businessmen for the only purpose of more profit, few have the mood to praise the pure love between the Herd-boy and the Weaving-girl who value free love and reunion over any worldly things. As St. Valentine’s Day is clearly more popular among the young than the Chinese Lovers’ Day, our Spring Festival gets less and less “share of market” among young people and may gradually give its way to Christmas Day. Therefore, we have the reason to worry about our tradition and our cultural identity and we shall change our mind in the long run.

Third, we shall output our Chinese culture to the west through various means in order to strengthen our national self-respect and enhance our pride for the country and culture. Only with a certain portion of balance between cultural input and cultural output can we find an easier approach to keeping our cultural identity. “In the year 2000 nearly half of the world’s cultural industries were located in the USA, 30% were located in Europe, with the remainder being located in Asia. Today, 85% of movies seen in the world are made in Hollywood.” (Örnek, 2007, p. 4) Although China is one of the world’s five largest cultural exporters in 1998 (Örnek, 2007, p. 4), there is still a long way for us to walk.

Last but not the least, increase of our comprehensive national strength will consolidate the practice of the above all approaches. Economics is the most important dimension of globalization, which affects politics, and politics in return affects economics, and both of these affect the cultural dimension of globalization. The cultural trade of goods and

services between countries is conducted within the framework of a global economic system.

Between the years 1980 and 1998 a 5-time increase in the market for cultural goods and services occurred. The information-society's most important component is the cultural industry, which is expanding at an incredibly rapid rate. Just as the products of these industries can create cultural values, or change them, as well as function to strengthen cultural identity, they can also hasten their disappearance. (Örnek, 2007, pp. 3-4)

Let us examine how much of a portion of our lives is encompassed by cultural goods and services: in the view of Örnek, cultural goods consist of a variety of products such as books, magazines, multimedia products, software, records, CDs, films, videos, audiovisual programs and fashion designs. Cultural services are comprised of libraries, documentary centers, museums, theatres, and orchestras, even circuses, press, cable news broadcasts, and satellite broadcasts. (4) Herein, the development of economy is directly related to our regular day's life and maintenance of cultural identity.

In a narrow sense, we as individuals should keep a Chinese heart when we observe Christmas wearing the west suit, drinking Cappuccino and eating KFC.

5. Conclusion

It can be predicted that Christmas will become more popular in the Chinese mainland and this tendency cannot be shifted in the near future. But what's more important is whether we will still keep our culture Chinese-characteristic and whether we will still be recognized as "descendents of the dragon". From the perspectives of culture, business and trade, we shall embrace Christmas and other imputed "cultural products" on a broader scale because intercultural communication promotes economic development and civilization progress. In this sense, we will not refuse the cultural globalization since "One of the ways in which we come to know who we are is to compare our own group identities with the character of other groups." (Collier, 2003, p.416) On the other hand, we shall celebrate Christmas in our Chinese way with the Chinese culture as the core in our mind.

This article only selects Christmas celebration in China to reflect one dimension of the relation between culture and globalization. And cultural invasion and cultural protection, the natural results from the interaction between strong and weak cultures backed by overall national strength may also be approached for further study from the political, ideological, economic and judicial perspectives.

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Considering Strengthening the Enrollment Work of Adult Higher Education of Correctional Police Institutes

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Abstract

This text tries to explore the problem of the enrollment work of adult higher education of correctional police institutes in five aspects in order to offer some help for promoting the steady, healthy and coordinated development of adult education enrollment of higher education.

Keywords: Correctional police institute, Enrollment of adult Higher Education

The enrollment of adult higher education is an important part of the correctional police institutes. It has played a vital role in building a harmonious society and providing services for judicial administration. The work directly determines the quality of the students who are enrolled and decides whether the people cultivated can qualify for the justice system or not. At the same time, it is also an indispensable factor that can affect the survival and development of adult higher education of the judicial police institutes. Therefore, in order to achieve the objective of constructing a life-long educational system and establishing a learning society, corresponding reforms or innovations must be carried on of the enrollment of the adult higher education of the judicial institutes in order to promote the cause of adult higher education institutions of the correctional police institutes a steady, healthy, and coordinated growth.

1. Providing the effective service for the grass-root units of the judicial administrative system to promote social harmony and stability

Mrs. Wu Aiying, the Minister of Justice, once delivered an important speech at the national conference of the administration of justice on building grass-roots of judicial administration. She stressed that strengthening the grass-root building of administration of justice is a major task of the whole situation of China and the CPC, and the overall development of the cause of the administration of justice. The vice Minister of Justice, Fan Fangping, in his concluding remarks at this conference explicitly called on that the judicial administrations at all levels should offer services for the grass roots, helping them solve the difficulties in practice. And the factual results of helping the grass root units to strengthen the infrastructure and operations would become the important measurement of evaluating the judiciary administrative organs and leading cadres. As far as the judicial police colleges or institutes are concerned, in order to carry out the requirements of the Ministry of Justice, they must closely integrate their own characteristics and make full use of their advantages to offer services for the grass roots in the aspects of theory, personnel, techniques and education etc. Among them, the adult education enrollment can adopt various preferential measures for the workers or officials or their children of this system to receive further schooling, thus arousing the enthusiasm of the grass root staff, as will contribute to social harmony and stability.

2. Adapting to the characteristics of the administration of the justice system especially the work of the correctional system and greatly developing the correspondence and part-time education

The Ministry of Education in document No. 11 in 2005 of the Teaching and Learning Section, Notice for working out the plan of enrollment of the national adult higher education for every province in 2005, clearly prescribed that, "Each adult higher school in the process of making the sub-provincial plans, should fully demonstrate the characteristics of the adult higher education of providing services for people in working position and studying in spare time. The scale of full-time students should be reduced as far as possible. Colleges and universities should not exceed 15% of the enrollment. Foreign languages institutes should not exceed 30%. Independent adult higher schools, the Western medicine and the Arts schools should not exceed 50%."

From the practice of the administration of justice system, especially the work of the prison education through labor system, after the personnel system reform, it is an indisputable fact that the number of staff is significantly reduced but heavy workload and great pressure begin to appear. Under this working situation, it becomes more difficult for the workers, particularly the prison inmates off their duty to get a full-time learning. Therefore, the judicial police institutes must adhere to the scientific outlook on development, change the old view of weighing the fulltime education while looking down upon the part-time education, vigorously develop the correspondence and part-time courses. Continually expanding the scale of correspondence and part-time courses is not only the future tendency of development but also meets the requirements of the Ministry of Education, as well as the administration of justice system, particularly the practical needs of the prison re-education system.

3. Strengthening the propaganda work of enrollment and continuing widening the students' sources

Adult higher education and its enrolling objects are of characteristic of sociality, universality and diversity, which makes the adult education enrollment more important and complicated. Statistics shows that in the past two or three years, the number of adult students who take part in the undergraduate examination has been decreased sharply by more than 20% a year. And those who apply for junior college education has been declined even by 30%. The appearance of this phenomenon is against the development objective of the higher education for adults. It does not only seriously affect the survival and development of higher education for adults, but also causes a great waste of educational resources. In this context, undoubtedly it is necessary to strengthen the enrollment. Considering that the judicial institutes on the very beginning was on the way of opening schools merely within the judicial system, when beginning to turn to the whole society for enrollment, they have little popularity and less influence. Even some grass-root units or work people in remote areas in the judicial system have also known little about the education. Therefore, the judicial colleges must adopt varieties of measures. Recruitment pamphlets, Internet, television or radio, newspapers or magazines all can be used to carry out an effective propaganda. Standardization must be continuously strengthened to make the judicial colleges known by every household to win the candidates and their families understanding and support so as to enhance the publicity and broaden the channels for new candidates.

4. Speeding up the reform of school system of the judicial adult higher education and changing the academic year system into credit system

The current adult higher educational system of judicial institutes has stringent requirements for the school system of the university or college students, which is not in line with the adult features. If the school system is changed into credit system, the year or time of study is not fixed, and students can be allowed to advance or delay their graduation, the contradictions between work and study can be greatly relieved. For those students who have to stop their studies can be allowed to leave midway and to continue their studies if they want to in the specified time. Their original acquisition of the credits will be still valid. The credits that those students who are still in their work position have acquired at other universities can be acknowledged according to some relevant provisions. Within a certain scope students can choose the enrolling time, the learning form or the curriculum as they like. And there will be many forms of certificates, professional proofs, professional qualifications or courses certificates to be chosen from and other certification system, etc. This credit system is in line with the spirit of building a life-long educational system and establishing a learning society.

5. Meeting the challenges from learning society and strengthening the theoretical study of adult education enrollment work

The appearance of the theory of the learning society leads to a major change in the old philosophy of education. In order to meet various challenges from the learning society and promote the healthy, orderly and effective development of the administration of justice, the enrollment work of adult higher education in the judicial schools must start from the work needs of the judicial administration especially the prison and labor education administration system, center around the theoretical issues of the adult higher education enrollment, effectively strengthen the forward-looking and strategic theoretical research, further broaden the scope of thinking, constantly adjust the specialty structure to flexibly, and diversely and effectively promote the development of higher education for adults.

In conclusion, in the process of building a life-long education system and establishing a learning society, the enrollment work of adult higher education in the judicial schools, which shoulders an important mission, must adapt itself to the social development and changes, keep up with the times, take the scientific outlook on development as guidance and reform in many aspects in order to help more learners, especially those from the judicial system administration (including the prison and reeducation system) to achieve their dream of studying at any time in any places, and to be able to find the study content and learning methods for themselves and for the need of the judicial administration.

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Analysis of Connotation of Readers' Right

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Abstract

The paper illustrates the production of readers' right, its characteristics, legal basis, and analyzes its connotation from the perspective of seven aspects, including right of education, right of reading, right of information acquisition, right of privacy secrecy, Right of cultural and scientific progress and right of social culture and living, etc.

Keywords: Readers' right, Right of education, Right of reading, Right of information acquisition, Right of privacy secrecy, Right of cultural and scientific progress

As a cultural right and educational right, readers' right is endowed with confirmation and guarantee in a legal form by the country. The Article 41, Article 42 and Article 50 of *The Education Law of the People's Republic of China* stipulate that, "The nation encourages schools and other educational institutions and social organizations to take measures to create conditions for permanent education for its citizens"; "educatees enjoy the rights to "use educational teaching facilities, equipment and books and reference materials"; "libraries, museums, science museums and cultural centers, etc, provide convenience for educatees to accept education". That is to say, readers' right is one type of cultural rights, and each citizen should have the right to enjoy it, just as they have the political right, economic right and social right.

1. Concept, production and characteristics of readers' right

To present it simply, readers' right refers to the right of readers to utilize book resources in a library to acquire knowledge and information. Specifically speaking, it means that a country offers book resources and a user acquires knowledge and information by means of borrowing the resources or reading them with freedom. The essence of readers' right is the right of freedom of information on the part of citizens, and it is the final target to be realized for a library information institution to be set up and run. The target of all sorts of legal relations between readers and a library, including relations of employing document information resources in the library, its facilities and equipment, and of receiving services and management of the library, is to utilize freely all sorts of resources in the library and to acquire advanced cultural, scientific and technical information.

Readers' right was born with emergence of modern libraries. At the time of ancient libraries, books and literature were unique to upper classes of the society, and were symbol of their political status and social identity. In 1850, with efforts of Edwards. E. (1812-1886), the British Parliament passed the first law about Public Library. Issuance of this law brought a new institution/system for hundreds of millions of people to permanently share informational justice and information democracy, namely, public library. Thereout, library switched from upper social classes of noblemen and imperial power to poor people. It was only from then that common citizens had readers' qualifications and the right to utilize a library---readers' right.

It was not until a discussion in 1980s that readers began to pay attention to readers' right. At that time, Japan adopted the means of entrusted management in order to reduce cost of public library, and employed librarians of non-library profession, as a result of which service quality was reduced and readers' right was not realized and even was violated. Right of a library aroused attention of researchers, and the Scholar Susumu Sasaki wrote *Right Manifesto of Library Users*. Library users referred to readers. From the perspective of law, readers' right has the following characteristics: firstly, readers' right belongs to cultural right. Similar to political right, economic right and social right of citizens, their cultural right is also a fundamental right they should share, and their right to utilize a library is a sort of their cultural

right. Secondly, readers' right belongs to the right of education. Thirdly, readers only share the right to utilize resources in a library, but don't have the right to possess them. Document resources belong to the state or collectives, and readers' only have the right to utilize them. Fourthly, readers' right coincides with readers' obligation. There is no right without any obligation, and likewise, there is no obligation without any right. Any right is related with an obligation. At the time of adequately sharing resources in a library, readers also have the obligation to abide by rules and regulations in a library, to protect integrity of library resources with self-consciousness and protect them from being violated.

On December 16, 1966, the United Nations passed *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, in which the Article 15 made stipulations on cultural right as follows, "1). All treaty members of this covenant admitted that each one had the following rights: a). to participate in cultural life; b). to share scientific progress and any benefit generated by its application; c). any spiritual and material interest generated in science, arts and works of art should be protected. 2). Procedures adopted by all treaty members of the covenant to adequately realize this right should include procedures necessary to preserve, develop and disseminate science and culture. 3). All treaty members of the covenant assume and respect the indispensable freedom necessary for any scientific research and creation activities." The covenant came into effect from January 3, 1975. Chinese government signed this covenant on October 27, 1997, and the Ninth Standing Committee of the National People's Congress passed it on February 28, 2001. It finally came into effect from July 2001. However, which rights can readers exercise in a library?

2. Rights shared by readers

2.1 Readers' right of education

Library emerged with demand on education, and its educational function will accompany the career of library all through its life. Ramesses II (BC 1304-BC 1237), the 19th Dynasty of Ancient Egypt, established a library with its access point carved with the typeface of "saving the soul". However, emergence of modern public libraries was due to improvement of workers' culture and technology brought about by development of the capitalist economy in Britain in the middle of the 19th Century. At that time, some library scholars advocated and managed a public library as an educational institution to popularize cultural knowledge. *Public Library Manifesto* had the following definite stipulations on educational functions of public library, "Public library is a channel for human beings to seek for knowledge and it provides fundamental conditions for permanent education, free decision making and cultural development of an individual and a social group", and "regular education at all levels is supported and individual and self-learning education is also supported."

Library education has the following features: 1). Universality. Library is an institutional arrangement of information equality under conditions of democratic politics, and each social member has the right to share document information in a public library and to educate by oneself. It is stipulated in *Public Library Manifesto* that, "Each one has the right to equally share service in a public library, without constraints of age, race, gender, religion or social status." 2). Constancy. A public library has the functions to preserve document, inherit civilization and protect traditions, so its document resources have the characteristics of comprehensiveness and constancy, which determines its education means is distinguished from characteristics of school education, adult education and training education. Public library can assume the capacity of citizens to share permanent education.

2.2 Readers' right of reading

Reading is the primary approach to acquisition of knowledge and to development of production capability since the civilization of human kind. The *Library Charter* by the UNESCO in 1972 stipulated that, "Each one has the right of reading. The society is obliged to guarantee that each one has the opportunity to read." In the era of knowledge-driven economy, the significance of reading to develop cultural production capability seems especially obvious, because the key element of cultural production capability includes people's intelligence, the scientific production and management, labor organization and cultural resources, etc. Cultural production capability is characterized by "culture".

As a primary reading occasion, library plays a dominant role in realizing readers' right of reading. For guarantee of citizens' right of reading, a library should provide fundamental facilities, document resources and service, and especially public libraries in former revolutionary base areas, areas inhabited by minority nationalities, remote and border areas and poverty-stricken areas should ensure to satisfy people's reading requirements and necessity of spiritual and cultural life. However, the actual situation allows of no optimist. According to statistics by the Ministry of Culture in 2000, there were altogether 144 counties without any library, and there were 108 county libraries without residence. The extensive rural areas even didn't have libraries with organizational structure. In 2003, there were altogether 124 county libraries without shelves or collected books. In the 17th Session of the General Assembly, Hu Jintao put forward, "We should develop non-profit cultural undertakings as a primary approach to guarantee basic cultural interest of people, strengthen investment and intensify community and rural cultural facility construction", which was extremely timely and was also quite necessary. A library should resort to the driving force of the 17th Session of the General Assembly to quicken its step and to establish gradually self-contained library public cultural service system, so as to guarantee realization of people's right of reading.

2.3 Readers' right of information acquisition

Right of information is the basic right a citizen should share. Right of information refers to the right of a citizen to undertake information activities with freedom pursuant to the law, including free acquisition, production and dissemination of information. Unlimited openness of information is one of the conditions for people to participate in social construction and democratic development. Public library is the tool/institutional arrangement to guarantee free and fair acquisition on the part of citizens under the democratic political condition. Since its birth in the middle of 1800s, public library has always been assuming this task. With development of network technology and digital technology, the society has been disintegrated into two hierarchies, that is, information-rich and information-poor. As the tool of information equality, public library behaves and should guarantee the right of citizens to acquire information with freedom. Library should provide citizens with retrieval and utilization of Internet/World Wide Web free of charge, so that each one can use information via the electronic carrier regardless of their economic conditions.

2.4 Readers' right of privacy secrecy

In 1979, in the *Library Freedom Manifesto* revised by Japan stipulated definitely, "A library should keep secrets for its users". A library may master the following information of readers going to the library and not going to the library: (1). Personal information, including the real name of readers, address, affiliation, occupation, gender, telephone, ID number, E-mail and electronic signature, etc. (2). Academic information, including readers' reading interest, reading trend and reading content, etc, which is necessary for a scholar. Then, he/she can analyze their research fields, research direction and even research subjects. (3). Internet meandering information. Website visited by readers or information they have browsed can either be stored in the server of the library in the form of a log file, or can be stored in the computer used by the readers in the form of Cookie. As for all sorts of information of readers, a librarian shouldn't search, store, disseminate, employ or sell whether it is acquired actively or passively.

For protection of readers' right of privacy secrecy, western countries have gone before us, such as, *Family Education and Privacy Act* and *Privacy Act* by America in 1970s and 1980s, and *General Principles about Personal Privacy Secrecy on the Internet* by EU, etc, whereas China is still not sound in terms of laws in this aspect.

2.5 Readers' right of cultural and scientific progress

The feature of public library to collect document information and inherit civilization and the characteristics of freedom, equality and service free of charge not only enables each sort of document to have its own readers, but can enable each reader to find out the necessary document information. Anyone can acquire service of a library at any place with a rational method and fair standard. In 1969, the United Nations passed *Declaration on Social Progress and Development*, which mentioned that all people and the entire human kind should have the right to lead a life with dignity and freedom and to enjoy achievements of social progress.

Development of information technology, network technology and digital library has had a positive effect on a public library to guarantee cultural right of a citizen. It not only realizes diversification of document information carrier, branding and layering of document resources, and brings a visual impact and beauty enjoyment on people, but also makes retrieval more convenient, fast and cheaply-priced to use. Library consortia, library communization, and construction of library service network promote construction of informationization among countries and regions, satisfy demand of globalization information and shorten distance between readers and the library. Especially, establishment of all sorts of data bases, information bases and knowledge bases enables human kind to employ the most advanced scientific and research results in a far distance.

2.6 Readers' right to participate in social and cultural life

The fifth Article in *Manifesto of World Cultural Significance* in 2001 stipulated, "Each one should have the right to participate in the cultural life he/she has chosen and to undertake his/her particular cultural activities." The 47th Article of the existing Constitution in China stipulates, "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the freedom to participate in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities." To guarantee citizens' right to participate in cultural life can not only satisfy people's increasingly growing spiritual and cultural demands, and realize their all-round development, but can also adequately activate their personal development potential and creative vigor.

At the time of finishing routine work, some public libraries also take the initiative to hold various cultural activities to satisfy people's demands upon spiritual and cultural life, such as, lectures about sinology, document discussion, course of lectures, exhibition of paintings and calligraphy, education of information literacy, chorus of the elderly and training of "young librarians", etc. For example, *Place of Entertainment for Public Welfare of Mantingfang* set up by the library in Xuhui District in Shanghai gives performance to the public free of charge each year, and has gained perfect social benefit.

2.7 Readers' right to share service of a library

The target of public library to collect documents and inherit culture is to serve the society and to promote progress and prosperity of the social politics, economy and culture. From the perspective of institutional level, public library should become a tool to guarantee fair acquisition of information. Thus, each citizen has the right to share service in a public library.

The characteristics of libraries in the 21st Century is as follows: free acquisition of information and knowledge; openness and share of information and knowledge resources; fair service; equal service to readers going to the library and not going to the library. Therefore, service offered by a public library is free, open, equal and cost-free. The free, open, equal and cost-free service means is not only ideal of the library career, but also embodiment of library spirit. Only if a library offers free, open, equal and cost-free service, can it satisfy citizens' spiritual and cultural demands, especially those in former revolutionary base areas, areas inhabited by minority nationalities, remote and border areas and poverty-stricken areas. The 17th Session of the General Assembly put forward the slogan of "concentrating on coordinative development of urban, rural and district culture, and attempting to enrich spiritual and cultural life of labor workers in urban areas from rural and remote areas", which is of great stimulus to establishment of the library public cultural service system that gradually spreads over the whole society, and especially construction of rural cultural service system.

3. Conclusion

Readers' right is the fundamental right of citizens, and is part of cultural right and educational right. Guarantee and realization of readers' right has significant meaning to acquisition of information, realization of cultural right, establishment of a great power in human resources, development of cultural production capability and development of socialism economy in an optimal and rapid speed.

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The Costume in the Earliest Chinese Hand Scroll

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Abstract

The earliest Chinese hand scroll extant painting is the ‘Nushi zhen’ by *Gu Kaizhi* housed in the British Museum, which is now often considered to be a Tang Dynasty copy of the original. By compared with correlated literatures and images, the typical skill and styles in which the earliest Chinese figure painters of Jin Dynasty (AD 265-420) depicting costumes is opened out, as well as the typical costume patterns and styles of man, woman and children.

Keywords: Costume, Hand scroll, ‘Nushi zhen’, *Gu Kaizhi*

In South Qi Dynasty (AD 479-502) of Southern Dynasties, *Xie He* said: “No ancient painting is exquisite until *Wei Xie*.” in his <Commentaries on Ancient Paintings>. The ancient paintings *Xie* mentioned were the Chinese handscroll paintings of figure illustrations, and *Wei* was famous in Western Jin Dynasty (AD 265-317). So the mature style of Chinese ancient handscroll painting should appear from then on. Unfortunately, there was no *Wei*’s painting in existence, even copies. The earliest painting we can see nowadays is the ‘Nushi zhen’ by *Gu Kaizhi* housed in the British Museum, who was a top painter of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (AD 317-420), and ever learned painting from *Xie*. Upon that, this article will study the representation of garment and accessories of the figures in the painting all-sided. And by comparing with correlated literature and images, it may unveil the prevailing skills and styles of earliest Chinese handscroll figure painting at that time, although the painting being likely a later copy.

1. *Gu Kaizhi* and his works

Gu Kaizhi, (AD 345-407), a native of Wuxi in Jiangsu province, gained a reputation as a painter at the Jin court in Nanjing. He was famous for his portraits and figures, but he also painted landscapes. A number of important paintings are attributed to him, such as ‘Nushi zhen’, ‘Nymph of the Luo River’, ‘Ladies of Beneficent & Wise in History’, ‘Chop Guqin’, etc. But they were not associated to him in texts until the Song dynasty, so the relationship to him is tenuous.

According to the literature, *Zhang Yanyuan* of Tang Dynasty said: “*Gu*’s brushwork was compact, immediate, continuous, circular, fast like wind and thunder.” in <The Records & Commentaries on Historical Famous Paintings>. *Tang Hou* of Yuan Dynasty also said that his paintings looked like the silk spun by spring silkworm, the cloud floating in the sky and the stream gliding on the ground, in his <Discrimination of Paintings>. Then we now know the probable style of *Gu*’s drawing. Comparing with other paintings in his name, the ‘Nushi zhen’ housed in the British Museum is the proximal copy to those literatures, so it is authentic for us to study the representation of garment and accessories of the figures in the earliest Chinese handscroll paintings.

The handscroll ‘Nushi zhen’ (also called “Admonitions of the Instructress of the Ladies in the Palace”) (see Figure-1) illustrates a moralising text by *Zhang Hua* (AD 232-300) which discusses the correct behaviour of ladies of the imperial harem. The scroll consists of quotations from the text, followed in each case by figure illustrations without any background or at most slight suggestions of setting. It was made of ink and coloured on silk, which was 343.75 centimetres long and 24.37 centimetres high. This is the finest extant work attributed to *Gu* and one of the two versions of this theme (the other is in the Palace Museum, Beijing).

There are many differences of painting styles from Han Dynasty in the handscroll. Scene seven, for example, shows a court lady advancing towards the Emperor, who was repulsing her with a gesture of his raised hand. The drapery is portrayed with long, continuous and even brushstrokes; movement is shown through the vitality of the swirling

draperies, a continuation of Han Dynasty traditions. The facial expressions of the figures have advanced beyond the generalised types of Han figures; the characterisation of facial expression here is closer to portraiture, displaying individual character and emotion, etc.

As the representation of garment and accessories shown in it is discussed neither in fine art nor in costume academe, the study on it is significative.

2. Analysis of figures' apparel drawing

The hand scroll 'Nushi zhen' depicts forty figures totally, including eighteen ladies, seventeen men, and five children. The analyses of the representation of those figures' apparel all-sided in it are as follows:

2.1 Head ornaments

All the ladies are ornamented with Jinjue hairpin, jointed with Buyao (it appeared in Han Dynasty, which is a kind of flower-like movable ornament on the hairpin, usually made of gold), as Figure-1 shows. The hairpin is outlined in thin ink line covered with red, while the Buyao is illustrated in quite different uneven curly red lines, which shows obvious distinctness compared with the ornament in silk painting of Mawangdui Han Tomb (see Figure-2). That makes out the advance of expressive force on lines.

There are several kinds of hats men wearing, one is the Tongtian hat which Emperor Yuan of Han worn, one is a sort of deerskin hat three men had on, one is all the housecarl and wagoner worn, named as Black Lacquered Silk hat, others are called Qia by ancient Chinese.

On the other hand, the hats were drawn in various ways. For example, the upper part of Tongtian hat was painted like ribbon, and the tie part of hat was also illustrated in two segments, with the wider line representing Ying and the thinner lines hiking up like dragon antenna representing Wei, which hinting the afeared feeling of Emperor Yuan of Han. That means the painters in Jin Dynasty had begun to use diverse lines to make a clear distinction of different apparel parts, also to concern the expression of lines and shapes to show the figure's innermost being.

And the representation of Black Lacquered Silk hat of the housecarl and wagoner tell us that the painter was able to illustrate object from diverse angle of view that time. Comparing with the paintings of Han Dynasty, it was a great advance too. Although the painting skill of texture of netlike Black Lacquered Silk derived from Han Dynasty, it showed much more delicacy and third dimension. Furthermore, the transparency was never seen before, which made the Ze (a kind of ancient cap) and the shape of head under the silk hat be seen clearly.

The men's deerskin hats showed in Figure-4 painted with stronger third dimension by two lotus-leave-like parts standing towards two directions in front of the forehead, with alternation of black and white strips. The presentation was undoubtedly superexcellent, which exceeded the anterior paintings on the stones and bricks of Han.

2.2 Hairstyle

The woman's hairdo in the scroll has two styles, one is a big bun worn at the back of the head, with a string of hair behind (see Figure-1), the other is hanging down, with a double-loop knot at the end of the hair. Obviously this painting style also came from Han (see Figure-3). The forms which represent the hairstyle of women differ greatly from men, which were all painted flat and sharp, like paper-cut, while the men's were illustrated vividly into threads. Although the representation of man's hair was not originated from that time, but no doubt it had shown obvious advance in the scroll by then.

2.3 Silhouette

It was common for women of Jin to dress short jupe with V-collar and long skirt reaching the ground with wide pleats. The silhouette of woman garments appears tight at the top and the waistline, while loose at the bottom and the cuff, which could be traced up to Chu of Eastern Zhou Dynasty (see picture-4, a piece of silk painting named "lady with dragon & phoenix"), even the turnup skirt lap looks just the same. Although the poses and guises of the ladies in the scroll differed slightly, they all followed the shape of "L". According to the archaeological study, we know the silhouette was not formed by the garment itself, but a kind of artistic distortion by the painter of the hand scroll, which revealed the aesthetic idea that age.

The curly flying silk band of the lady's garment is another obvious feature. It could be comprehended as scarf, waistband, and Zaju (the multiple angular lap of the apron). This kind of figure shape appeared in several images of that time or later copies, such as lacquer painting in Datong Sima Jinlong Tomb of Northern Wei Dynasty (see Figure-5). It seems more like a kind of apparel representation style than the actual structures of suit-dress those days too.

As for the men and children, the silhouettes in the scroll were far more veridical compared to the lady's. There were no exaggerated shapes of garment or accessory parts in the scroll, except the robe of Emperor Yuan of Han, just like his tie of Tongtian hat, tossed about to illustrate his terrified mind. The representation was first brought forward by Gu Kaizhi in his argument on figure painting named "a form for an expression", which influenced generations of ancient Chinese painters. The point is that the painter only highlighted few figures in this way to show their difference.

2.4 Structure

According to the scroll, the representation of structures of the garments, comparing men's with women's, shows more similarity than difference. The most painstaking depictions were all surrounding the head, besides the hat and the ornaments, the collar's structure was illustrated quite exquisitely, which represents more than two layers of gowns or frocks. Take the gown of man for example, the outermost one is called Danyi, which is made of gossamer, so only the edge of the collar was painted, and often right lapel on the left. The middle layer gown usually has edging on the V-collar, with left lapel on the right. The innermost one is under gown, shown by several slim lines. Moreover the women usually has furbelow around their necks.

Another important structure the scroll presenting is the waistline of figures. It seems that the men's were loose and lower, using narrow belt covered by the bulgy gown; while the women's were fairy tight and higher, often fastened with long silk band and knotted in the front. Under the lady's belt, there were usually apron and netlike cestus contracting the waist, which just as the lady's in the silk painting of East Zhou Dynasty mentioned before (see Figure-4).

Not only on the collar, but also the edging of the gown and skirt was a key part illustrated quite meticulously, which also emphasized the outline of those lumpy laps. Comparatively, the cuffs of gowns and jupes were depicted quite vaguely, with a lot of interlaced lines only to show a rough appearance of several layers of clothes. Nor did those flying curly silk band of ladies express their cause and effect as which parts of garments they were.

There is an indistinctive garment's structural detail in the scroll, which indicating the seam of the joint of sleeves to panel (like the armhole called today), appeared on quite a few figures' outermost gown (Danyi). That is to say that the painters of Jin even paid relatively more attentions on the structure of garments than later generations. It also showed that the painter then, by careful observation, tried their best to reproduce what the real garments should be on the hand scroll.

2.5 Shoes

It is interesting that all the men's shoes were illustrated partly or integrally, while the women's were all covered up by skirts. The representative feature is common in Han Dynasty, but not prevailing after Jin Dynasty. It still revealed that the female image in the hand scroll of Jin strongly influenced by Han, and the wearing style of shoes was covered by skirts.

On the contrary, the men's shoes could be depicted so vivid that it almost likes a rendering of sketch. It also shows the great advance on the accessory illustration of scroll painting in Jin, like later generations.

3. Painting skills

The painting skills the scroll expressing those garments and accessories were significant signs of Jin Dynasty, and influenced later painters for a long time.

Firstly, the lines of the scroll painted in taper brush all looks evenly narrow and slim, traveling slowly and smoothly, without diversification of strokes. This kind of line used to be called as "spring-silkworm-spitting-silk line" or "ancient-hairspring line" of "eighteen outlines" in drawing garments on traditional Chinese painting. This linetype is the earliest one appeared in Chinese hand scroll figure painting, reflecting the rudiment of apparel representation, which mainly came into the style of Han. It wasn't until Tang Dynasty that more kinds of strokes began to be shaped up. But the mode of the line had also been advanced greatly by then, just as its name described by later essayists. So it demonstrated the concern of the painters on the expressive force of lines about apparel molding.

Secondly, the colors applied in the scroll were quite few, besides ink, mainly vermillion and ochre, which means the palette of inchoate scroll painting was fairy limited. Obviously these colors couldn't match all the garments and accessories wearing in historical reality. For example, the vermillion was used to paint golden head ornament, also to tinge clothes and edgings. Shortly after that time, in Southern and Northern Dynasties, more colors were painted on scroll painting, such as green, yellow, white, etc.

Thirdly, the most important feature lies that although the lines and the palettes were both monotone, the skills of the render on the garment and accessory displayed in the scroll varied wildly from flat to shade, thick to thin, even overlapping. There was almost no repeated rendering skill used on a single figure's apparel, which represented the diversity of various clothes parts. In these crack ways, the painter of that era could represent luxuriant costume colors within limited tincts.

Lastly, also because of the lack of styles of lines and colors, the painters then could show almost no pattern on those garments, even though the textile pattern of Han and Wei had taken on a gorgeous visage. So it revealed that the painting skills that time were not capable of handling those complicated apparel patterns yet. Furthermore, there are few kinds of fabric materials represented in the scroll, because of the limitation on the painting skills.

4. Conclusion

By the study of the representation of garment and accessories all-sided in the ‘Nushi zhen’, a scene of the hand scroll figure illustrations in Jin Dynasty is depicted. It could be concluded at least six points from the analysis.

The representation of apprals in Jin Dynasty derived directly from Han Dynasty, especially on the way it painting the outer woman.

The painting showed much more delicacy and third dimension on the apprals, which represents the great advance made in Jin, especially on the men’s outfit, such as hats and shoes.

The painter in Jin Dynasty has begun to concern the expressive force of apprals’ lines and shapes to show the figure’s innermost being.

There are few kinds of fabric materials showed in the scroll out of silk textiles, because of the limitation on the painting skills.

The rudiment of apparel representation of earliest Chinese figure illustration had been brought forth by that time, showed by the painting skill of lines, colors and rendering.

Above all, the painter of that age, by careful observation, made great efforts to reproduce what the real garments and accessories should be in the scroll.

The ‘Nushi zhen’ was a very important milestone of the beginning of ancient Chinese figure hand scroll painting. From then on, the representation of garment and accessories, along with the development of figure illustrations flourished for almost a thousand years till the rise of landscape in Southern Song Dynasty.

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Figure 1. The earliest Chinese hand scroll named ‘Nushi zhen’



Figure 2. Lady's head ornaments and the hairstyle in silk painting of Mawangdui

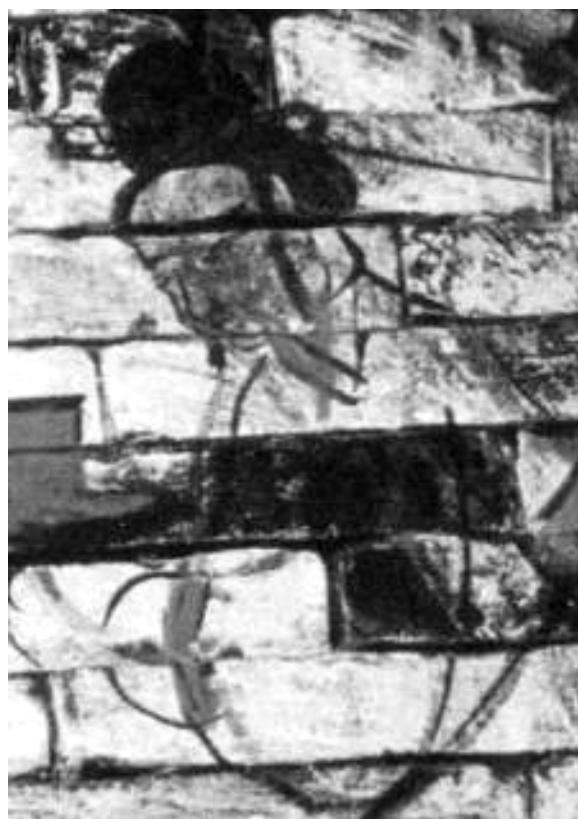


Figure 3. Figure brick in a tomb of Han Dynasty



Figure 4. Lady's silhouette in the silk painting of Eastern Zhou Dynasty



Figure 5. Lacquer painting in Datong Sima Jinlong Tomb

Game Analysis of the Influences of Converse Selection on Enterprise Financing

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Abstract

Converse selection is the phenomenon commonly existing in the market, and its connotation is the asymmetry of information. Converse selection influences the trading between two or among above two different individuals or enterprises. Enterprise financing comes down to the trading between at least two different enterprises such as the financing party and the loan party, i.e. the behavior of converse selection influences the enterprise financing, and under different financing modes, these influences are different, which can be better opened out by the game analysis. And the theory of signal can be used to reduce or eliminate the bad influences on the enterprise financing brought by the behavior of converse selection.

Keywords: Converse selection, Enterprise financing, Game, Signal

1. Converse selection and information asymmetry

The economic explanation of information asymmetry is that one party of the trading knows insufficiently about the other party, and both parties are in the unequal state. Generally speaking, seller possesses more information about the trading goods, for example, for the business of second-hand cars, seller more know the car, but the contrary situation may also exist, for example, for the medical insurance, the buyer generally possesses more information. According to the time sequence of asymmetric information, and information asymmetry is represented by converse selection and moral risk.

The converse selection is the information asymmetry beforehand, and it means that the products with bad quality produced because of information asymmetry and descending market price drive out the products with good quality, and accordingly the phenomena that the average quality of products in the market falls occur. In the financial market, the converse selection means that the financing parties with the most possible disadvantageous (converse) result (i.e. the risk of breach faith) always are those people who seek the capitals most actively and acquire the capitals most possibly.

2. Modes of enterprise financing

The modes of enterprise financing can be divided into two sorts, i.e. the interior financing and the exterior financing.

The interior financing means that the economic subject (the enterprise) finances by certain mode in the enterprise itself, for example, the enterprise finances by its own profit retention and depreciation. Generally, the interior financing is the

main financial mode when the enterprise starts in the initial stages. As viewed from the financial theory, because reducing the exterior financing charge of the enterprise, the interior financing needs not to pay interests and dividends, so the cash outflow of the enterprise will not be influenced, which will reduce the pressure of cash flow of the enterprise. But the most of interior financing has its deficiencies, and the most key limited factor is the limited quantity, and its upper limit is the management profit of the enterprise.

The exterior financing of the enterprise includes the direct financing and the indirect financing. The so-called direct financing means the financing behavior that the enterprise directly loans or issues stocks and bonds from the asset suppliers not from the financial institutions such as bank. In the direct financing, the supplier and demander of capitals could directly transfer the capitals by the financing measure, not via financial institutions such as bank. The direct financing can most possibly absorb the social idle funds which can be directly invested in the production and management of the enterprise to supplement the deficiency of the exterior financing. It includes three modes, i.e. the financing in the stock market and the bonds issuance, the financial lease which means that when the enterprise needs to finance and acquire equipments, it doesn't invest by direct purchase, but borrow equipments from the lease company by paying the rents, other financing channels which includes the lease market, the pledge market and the civil loans. The main mode of exterior financing is to acquire loans from the financial institutions.

3. Game analysis of the influences of converse selection on enterprise financing

Three modes of enterprise financing are the interior financing, the direct financing and the indirect financing. Because the interior financing can be regarded as the interior business of the enterprise, and it doesn't relate to the relationships of the enterprise with other parties, so the relationship between converse selection and interior financing is not discussed in the article, but the influences of converse selection on direct financing and indirect financing.

3.1 Influence of converse selection on the direct financing of enterprise

The direct financing of enterprise is a kind of financing mechanism which mainly uses stock and bond. The location that the suppliers and demanders of capitals can direct finance capitals by the financial tools such as stock and bond is the direct financing market, i.e. the securities market.

Suppose that the market income that good enterprise issues stock or bond is R_g , and the issuance price is P_g , and the issuance cost is C_g , and the yield is Y_g , so the investors' incomes investing in good enterprise is V_g . Relatively speaking, suppose that the market income that bad enterprise issues stock or bond is R_b , and the issuance price is P_b , and the issuance cost is C_b , and the yield is Y_b , so the investors' incomes investing in good enterprise is V_b . Generally speaking, the income of good enterprise exceeds the income of bad enterprise, and the stock issuance cost of good enterprise is less than bad enterprise, and the investment income of good enterprise is better than bad enterprise, i.e. $R_g > R_b$, $C_g < C_b$ and $V_g > V_b$.

Because of the influence of converse selection, the probability that good enterprise is regarded as bad enterprise is P_1 , and the probability that bad enterprise is regarded as good enterprise is P_2 , which will influence the costs that enterprise issues stock or bond, but will not influence the income of enterprise, because the character of the enterprise doesn't been changed. So the anticipated income of good enterprise E_g can be denoted as

$$E_g = (1 - P_1)(R_g Y_g - C_g) + P_1(R_g Y_g - C_b) = (R_g Y_g - C_g) + P_1(C_g - C_b)$$

If the market is in the condition of complete information, the anticipated income of good enterprise will be $E = R_g Y_g - C_g$.

Because $C_g < C_b$, so $E_g < E$, i.e. in the influence of converse selection, the anticipated income of good enterprise will be reduced, which will impact the enthusiasm that good enterprise directly seeks financing in the securities market.

The anticipated income of bad enterprise E_b can be denoted as

$$E_b = (1 - P_2)(R_b Y_b - C_b) + P_2(R_b Y_b - C_g) = (R_b Y_b - C_b) + P_2(C_g - C_b)$$

Here, $E_b > E$, i.e. the anticipated income of bad enterprise increases, which will encourage bad enterprise to implement the direct financing activities in the capital market, and for long, the similar phenomenon that "bad money drive out good money" will be formed in the capital market, which will largely impact the development of the capital market.

3.2 Influence of converse selection on the indirect financing of enterprise

In fact, the influence mechanism of converse selection on the indirect financing of enterprise is similar with the direct financing, and the difference is that the investors turn into financial institutions such as bank, which is different with the characters of the direct financing. In China, the enterprise financing sequence is issuing stock and financing in the stock market, loan and financing from banks, and interior financing. The indirect financing is one important mode of the sources of enterprise sources, because enterprises have the demand to loan from banks. So the influence of converse selection on the indirect financing of enterprise is mainly embodied in how financial agencies such as banks provide loans for enterprises.

By virtue of the mathematical symbols in the analysis of the influence of direct financing, the anticipated income E_{g2} that banks loan good enterprise can be denoted as

$$E_{g2} = (1 - P_1)(V_g - P_g) + P_2(V_b - P_g) = (V_g - P_g) + (P_1 - P_2)P_g + P_2V_b - P_1V_g$$

And the anticipated income E_{b2} that banks loan bad enterprise can be denoted as

$$E_{b2} = (1 - P_2)(V_b - P_b) + P_1(V_g - P_b) = (V_b - P_b) + (P_2 - P_1)P_b - P_2V_b + P_1V_g$$

P_1 and P_2 respectively denote the probabilities that enterprises are falsely judged (good enterprise is falsely judged as bad enterprise, and bad enterprise is falsely judged as good enterprise), and when financial institutions such as banks are the judged subjects, these probabilities are very small, so for the convenience, they are be supposed as equal, i.e. $P_1 = P_2$.

So,

$$E_{g2} = (V_g - P_g) + P_1(V_b - V_g)$$

$$E_{b2} = (V_b - P_b) + P_1(V_g - V_b)$$

And, generally the income of investing in good enterprise is better than the income of investing in bad enterprise, i.e. $V_g > V_b$.

So, $E_{g2} < (V_g - P_g)$ and $E_{b2} > (V_b - P_b)$, and the rights of the formula respectively denote the incomes of good enterprise and bad enterprise without the influence of the behavior of converse selection. These two formulas indicate that when converse selection exists, the income that banks loan good enterprise will decrease, but the income that banks loan good enterprise will increase, which will encourage banks to loan more capitals to bad enterprises. That will make against not only the long-term development of banks, but also the development of the country and the society.

4. Countermeasures for the behavior of converse selection in enterprise financing

By above analysis, it is obvious that the largest influence of converse selection on enterprise financing is investors' false judgment of enterprise, i.e. because of incomplete information, investors falsely regard good enterprise as bad enterprise, or regard bad enterprise as good enterprise, so their decisions are impacted to bring losses for their investments. If investors could know sufficient information about the enterprise beforehand, the probability misjudging the enterprise will be very small, which needs the enterprise to actively make information and let investors more comprehensively know it. But another problem occurs, i.e. enterprises will hide the disadvantageous information as much as possible in order to attract more investors, so relative systems are needed to restrain them.

4.1 As viewed from enterprise: strengthening the signal revealing mechanism

The signal theory begun in A. Michael Spence's research, and he thought that to reduce the influence of asymmetric information to the final trading in asymmetric information, the party with predominant information should transfer signals to the party in the inferior position of information, and the latter needs to discriminate the information from the party with predominant information to change the bad result induced by the information asymmetry.

4.1.1 Listed enterprises should have stable dividend policies

The dividend policies of Chinese listed companies are not stable, so quite proportional profit can not be distributed every year, which will seriously harm investors' benefits, even induce that investment refuse investing, so the financing of capitals will be influenced. Therefore, various listed companies should establish a long-term dividend distribution policy and keep the stability of the cash dividend policy according to their actual situation, their industry and their development stage, which can make investors to have a basic anticipation for the dividend in future and accordingly attract them to invest. And from the conclusion of the game model of dividend signal transfer (Zhao, 2007), only the signal that the listed company promise dividends after the income of item is realized is effective. In the actual economic activity, unreasonable dividend distribution will influence the long-term development of the company, and accordingly influence investors' long-term benefits, and change their investment decisions.

4.1.2 Enterprises should establish the credit rating system

The credit means a kind of promise and guarantee made by the party grasping information to the party in the inferior position of information. Enterprise is the carrier of credit, and the value of enterprise consists in credit, so to exert the function of signal display normally, the enterprise credit rating system is needed. Under the premise that the society provides the guarantee of encourage to enterprises, the enterprise with good credit could obtain excessive profits, i.e. the “credit income”, and it can be understood by that the enterprises enjoy the return of good credit, for example, the enterprise with good credit can more easily obtain the loans from financial institutions such as bank. If the credit of the enterprise is harmed, its benefit will be damaged certainly, and in this way, credit will become into a real signal. Therefore, enterprises should establish a right credit mechanism to reduce the influence of information asymmetry on the market trading and the occurrences of converse selection.

After enterprises establish the credit rating system, they should periodically issue the credit rating reports for investors to know their credit records. According to the signal display theory, the enterprises with low class will continually enhance their quality, actively create conditions, and join the group with high class, and they will not simulate signals only. In this way, investors can make investment decisions according to the signals from enterprises.

4.2 As viewed from government: standardizing relative legal systems

To seed out “good” signals, enterprises have the motivations to make fake information in the process of information proclamation. To restrain that, the governmental department should adopt active and corresponding measures.

4.2.1 Exerting and strengthening the supervision and management function of the enterprise

The master of game theory who won the Noble Prize of economics, Doctor R. Reinhard Selten analyzed a game model about thief and guard, and the result showed that whether in the long term or in the short term, the most effective measure to restrain the happening of theft was to increase the punishments for the guards with breach of duty. Therefore, the behaviors of weak supervision of relative departments should be largely punished, and the encouragement mechanism should be introduced to encourage the implementation of their duties, which can effectively exert the function of supervision.

4.2.2 Perfecting the legal policy environment

The establishment of the credit system needs a relatively stable policy environment, and when the policy environment is more instable, investors will more pursue short-term benefits. The illegibility and opacity of policies, and the random of constituting policies all will influence the stability of the policy environment. At the same time, a reliable and feasible legal system is needed to make enterprises to observe the relevant code of conduct and the law, and let those enterprises which can not keep faith to pay higher costs exceeding the costs obtained from losing credit. Therefore, the present measure is to perfect various regulations and laws, and enhance the punishment degree for disobeying regulations and laws.

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Table 1. Investment game under the influences of converse selection behavior

Enterprises	Investors	
	Investing	No investing
Good enterprise	($R_g Y_g - C_g, V_g - P_g$)	($-C_g, 0$)
Bad enterprise	($R_b Y_b - C_b, V_b - P_b$)	($-C_b, 0$)

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